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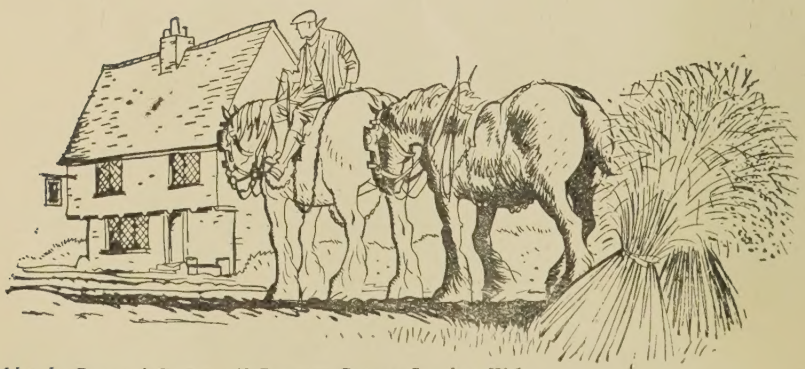

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THE FORTNIGHTLY

MAY 1950

AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY INTERPRETED

BY WERNER LEVI

EVERY national foreign policy is characterized by a number of features which change only slowly in the course of time. As long as the sovereign nation State system prevails in the world, self-preservation is the primary goal of foreign policy. In the absence of a superior authority to guarantee the safe existence of nations, every nation is responsible for its own survival. The stronger it is, relative to all other nations, the better can this responsibility be fulfilled. The first and foremost aim of all foreign policy must therefore be to strengthen a nation's power. To admit this necessity is not *le bon ton* in international relations. Democratic nations particularly dislike the idea because power means control over human beings by human beings and this is difficult to reconcile with the democratic assumption of their basic equality. The tendency is therefore either to disguise the quest for power in ideological clothes or to admit it, rationalizing it in ideological terms or belittling it as a means to moral ends.

A second factor tending to endow foreign policy with enduring characteristics is the environment from which the policy springs. Its effect may vary with cultural, especially technological development. Resources of a nation may at one time vitally affect the power position, at other times be entirely irrelevant. But, generally speaking, environment has a considerable influence upon the shape of foreign policy. Then, thirdly, there is the make-up of the population. The government of a homogeneous people like the British or French can ignore certain considerations which loom large in American or Swiss discussions. A fourth factor is the historical culture pattern of the nation as it develops and conditions the thinking and aspirations as well as the institutions of the people. Fifth is the nature of foreign policy itself. As long as the quest for power makes international relations competitive, foreign policy must remain largely secret. The goal is always known, but the means to reach it are hidden, even from the people whose existence is at stake. Foreign policy is therefore less subject to public scrutiny and variability. Furthermore, its shape at any given moment depends to a considerable extent upon other nations' foreign policy. A people may have complete control over, say, agricultural

policy and turn it overnight into the opposite of what is was on the previous day. But no matter how much a nation wishes to change its foreign policy, the fulfilment of the wish depends upon the co-operation of nations over which it has no control. The necessity of dovetailing some sixty foreign policies into a world-wide pattern permits only a gradual change.

All these factors have affected American foreign policy and provided it with many permanent features. The over-riding pre-occupation with security is recognizable throughout the 175 years of the nation's existence. In one of the earliest American diplomatic documents, the first instructions of Congress relative to a treaty of peace with Great Britain, passed on August 14, 1779, are to end the further effusion of blood " by every means consistent with their dignity and safety," and the American peace commission was instructed to inform the French Emperor how much the United States relied upon his aid " in everything that may be necessary to the peace, security, and future prosperity of the United States of America." In the offer to purchase Cuba from Spain, James Buchanan wrote that " the highest and first duty of every independent nation is to provide for its own safety ; and, acting upon this principle we should be compelled to resist the acquisition of Cuba by any powerful maritime State, with all the means which Providence has placed at our command," the obvious implication being that the right or wrong of acquisition by any other power is secondary to American security. The decision to proceed with the manufacture of the hydrogen bomb was based on security considerations to which all moral qualms were finally subordinated. This quest for power to guarantee security and survival is the feature which all nations' foreign policies share alike. What distinguishes them are the means used, which are determined by the conditions peculiar to each nation.

The geographical position of the United States, with its oceans on either side, is usually cited as being largely responsible for the isolationism of American foreign policy. That America's " detached and distant situation," to use Washington's words, shaped the popular impression of what the rôle of America should be in world affairs can hardly be doubted. But isolation as such was never, even in theory, an overall principle of American foreign policy. The United States was never isolationist in its attitude to Latin America or the Pacific. The idea developed in American-European relations and is a misnomer even there. If it is " isolationism " for a nation to remain aloof from the conflicts of other nations for its own good and to risk involvement only if the so-called national interest requires it, the foreign policy of every nation is isolationist.

A more correct description of America's European policy would be to say that, relatively (in view of potentialities at home) and absolutely

(in view of Europe's unattractiveness from an economic and political standpoint), there was little reason for the United States to foster close relations with the Old World. Security remained the major consideration in the minds of American statesmen, though frequently in the background. Four thousand miles of water obviated the need for undue preoccupation with the problem. But this barrier was never completely adequate to relieve fears of possible aggression from Europe, and increasingly less so as communications improved. Anxiety over threats to American security, either as a result of European activities in the western hemisphere or as a result of American-European clashes of interest somewhere else in the world, persists almost continuously throughout American history.

The first statesmen of the Republic had seen how the balance of power on the European continent had enabled Great Britain to expand its overseas dominions in relative safety and there is good reason to believe that they felt the desirability of continuing such a balance, now including Great Britain, which would secure the new nation as it had before secured the colony. One reason why there is so little evidence, written or verbal, for this American policy is that balance of power is contrary to American ideals and even when it is consciously applied, it is not openly so called. A more important reason is that the United States, at least until early in the twentieth century, had no need to engineer it in Europe. Great Britain did it, for the United States incidentally, and primarily for itself. And as long as Great Britain was successful, American security was accepted by the Americans as part of the given environment, just as was the water barrier, upon which foreign policy was based but which was not itself an object of foreign policy.

In 1911 Theodore Roosevelt announced as his own opinion that if England should fail to maintain the balance of power " the United States would be obliged to step in, at least temporarily, in order to re-establish the balance of power in Europe, never mind against which country or group of countries our efforts may have to be directed." President Wilson was utterly disgusted with the 1914-1918 war, having no particular sympathy for the German and little for the other side and, in the opinion of Charles A. Beard, being concerned " mainly in the possible destruction of the balance of power." Colonel House told Wilson no good could result from the war for the United States ; if the Allies won, Russia would dominate Europe, if Germany, " the unspeakable tyranny of militarism." There is no reason to doubt that these considerations were among those which finally determined the American entry into the war at a time when Germany threatened to become overwhelmingly strong in Europe. Wilson's " peace without victory " fits into this pattern as well as into his humanitarianism. When Great Britain, after

that war, resumed the rôle of balancer of power, the United States could become " isolationist " again without risk to its security.

During the 1939-1945 war, Great Britain's existence was endangered once more and there was no doubt in the mind of the American Government that the United States had to prevent her being defeated. President Roosevelt made it quite clear that American strategy would assist Great Britain in order to ensure American security. This involved global policies, since the survival of Great Britain depended on the support of the Empire. For this reason the United States had to take a firm stand against any further Japanese expansion into south-east Asia. In February 1941, the Counsellor of the American Embassy in Tokyo told the Japanese Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs that, much as the American people abhorred the idea of having to join in the war, the consideration of helping England transcended even the consideration of avoiding war. " It would be absurd to suppose that the American people, while pouring munitions into Britain, would look with complacency upon the cutting of communications between Britain and British dominions and colonies overseas," the Vice-Minister was warned. " If, therefore, Japan or any other nation were to prejudice the safety of those communications, either by direct action or by placing herself in a position to menace those communications, she would have to expect to come into conflict with the United States."

As a result of the 1939-1945 war Great Britain has become too weak to assume the traditional rôle in Europe's balance of power, and this explains the continued preoccupation of the United States with European affairs. The desperate efforts of the United States to form a western union fit into the traditional American approach to European politics. If American policy should become successful, the United States might be expected to turn " isolationist " again, although undoubtedly not to the degree that it once was.

The demographic character of America further explains the impression of isolationism. But this fact primarily affects the form of America's foreign policy, rarely its substance, and never any decisions which are considered vital. The composite nature of the American population makes it difficult for a government that wants to be re-elected to take sides with any one nation and join alliances. In creating a community out of the heterogeneous groups composing the population it would be undesirable to split the American people by gratuitously joining a European power in combination against another. This handicap to the manoeuverability of American governments disappeared as soon as the melting pot had performed its task. Now the United States can afford to conclude an Atlantic Alliance without fear of disrupting the community. Nevertheless whenever a stand is taken against a foreign nation, American states

men are usually careful to point out that the government rather than the people of the nation is the target of an American foreign policy that fits into the ideological and sociological background.

Most of these considerations do not apply to the Pacific area. The area was economically much more attractive and politically less involved than Europe. And American security was not as well taken care of by the policy of another power. American policy in the Pacific area was never characterized by isolationism. On the contrary, America's policy was aggressively assertive and at times expansionist far beyond the dictates of security. American expansion took place overland and overseas and in both cases showed typical manifestations of imperialist mentality. Its beginnings coincided with the Revolution. The stimulus came from New England merchants and whalers, missionaries, and the navy. These groups favoured the extension of American power for the protection of their own interests. They did not necessarily have imperialist designs, but they were the pioneers of imperialism nevertheless. Even the overland expansion toward the west coast was not the result of the natural fanning out from the east coast settlements but a typical drive of colonialism. The settlement of Oregon and California was envisaged as a colonial development. In the early decades of the nineteenth century, the central plains of North America were considered natural frontiers beyond which the eastern population could not move. In the mind of many among those who thought at all about the Pacific Ocean and the west coast, Oregon and California were not only potential colonies but belonged to an essentially Asiatic sphere. Thomas Jefferson, in a letter to John Jacob Astor expressed his satisfaction at the beginning of a settlement of Americans along the Oregon coast which, he anticipated, would be covered " with free and independent Americans, unconnected with us but by the ties of blood and interest, and employing like us the rights of self-government." In 1823, when the Oregon Bill was discussed, Congressman Tracy said : " I cannot believe that the people of the Atlantic and the Pacific can ever be brought under the banners of the same Government, consistent with the interests or happiness of either ; nature has fixed limits for our nation ; she has kindly interposed as our western barrier, mountains almost inaccessible, whose base she has skirted with irreclaimable deserts of sand. This barrier our population can never pass—if it does, it becomes the people of a new world, whose connections, whose feelings, and whose interests, are not with us, but with our antipodes," and, if the Bill were passed, he felt the United States would accept " the principle of colonization." In 1825 Senator Benton made an even more striking statement. " Upon the people of Eastern Asia, the establishment of a civilized power upon the opposite coast of

America, would not fail to produce great and wonderful benefits. Science, liberal principles in government and the true religion, might cast their lights across the intervening sea. The valley of the Columbia might become the granary of China and Japan, and an outlet to their imprisoned and exuberant populations. The inhabitants of the oldest and the newest, the most despotic and the freest Governments, would become neighbours, and, peradventure, the friends of each other. They have the same enemies, and by consequence, should stand together as friends. Russia and the legitimates menace Turkey, Persia, China and Japan ; they menace them for their riches and dominions ; the same powers menace the two Americas for the popular forms of their governments. To my mind the proposition is clear, that Eastern Asia, and the two Americas, as they have become neighbours, should become friends ; that they should stand together upon a sense of common danger. . . ."

When, toward the middle of the century, American interests on the west coast and in the Pacific Ocean were no longer the preoccupation of a few merchants, missionaries and naval officers, but of increasingly larger sections of the population, the overland and overseas movements melted into one. Popular enthusiasm for expansion west and into the Pacific reaches heights at that period which were hardly equalled in later years. It helped in establishing the principle that the Pacific Ocean is of vital interest to the United States ; and upon this principle rested the eventual acquisition of territories in the Pacific late in the last century and the establishment of American supremacy as a result of the 1939-1945 war. Instead of isolationism this was a policy of active expansionism, involving all the paraphernalia of military force and the balance of power.

These fundamental features of American policy in Europe and the Pacific, some of which also apply to Latin America, contravene most directly the ideals which are part and parcel of the American's upbringing. Americans have no monopoly in their insistence upon decency and morality in the substance and methods of foreign policy. But any deviation in practice from these precepts is more disturbing to more Americans than would be true among other peoples. The reason is that, in Gunnar Myrdal's words in *The American Dilemma :* " America, compared to every other country in Western civilization, large or small, has the *most explicitly expressed* system of general ideals in reference to human inter-relations. This body of ideals is more widely understood and appreciated than similar ideals are anywhere else. The American Creed is not merely—as in some other countries—the implicit background of the nation's political and judicial order as it functions. To be sure, the political creed of America is not very satisfactorily effectuated in actual social life. But as principles which *ought* to rule, the Creed has been made

conscious to everyone in American society." The principles of this creed are applied constantly to every public enterprise. Every policy, internal or external, in order to appeal to or satisfy the public, must be phrased in the terms of American ideals. These ideals and the steps necessary to assure national survival are not always easily reconcilable. Hamilton and some of his contemporaries attempted to solve the dilemma by making the pursuit of the national self-interest itself a moral principle. " Indeed," he wrote, " the rule of morality in this respect is not precisely the same between nations as between individuals. The duty of making its own welfare the guide of its actions, is much stronger upon the former than upon the latter. . . ." Under William McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt, and their spiritual colleagues, moral principles were used to rationalize expansionism, perhaps to themselves, but in any case to the public. What, for example, convinced President McKinley to decide upon the annexation of the Philippine Islands was " to educate the Filipinos, and uplift and civilize and Christianize them, and by God's grace do the very best we could by them as our fellow-men for whom Christ also died." Woodrow Wilson, finally, represented the purest example of an attempt to make morals the guiding and exclusive principle of foreign policy.

The social background of the American people again explains the phenomenon. A set of values and beliefs is an important factor in the integration of a group. In order to hasten the Americanization of immigrants they were imbued with the American creed. This obviously had to be one which permitted its acceptance by people of the most diverse ideological and cultural backgrounds. Democracy fulfils this function admirably, especially when it is widely though wrongly interpreted as licence. In that case, the most diverse ideologies could be held by individuals as long as they granted the same rights to everybody. The emphasis in the American interpretation of democracy is upon the freedoms rather than upon the social responsibilities and obligations it implies (these are usually left to religion). The result of this stress upon ideology is that, to say the least, American foreign policy is always coloured by the moral standards implied in the ideology.

Ideology cannot ever overcome the quest for power, but within the leeway that the pursuit of this primary aim leaves, particularly in the choice of means, American foreign policy reflects the American creed. The non-recognition doctrine, the principle of non-intervention, the sponsorship of arbitration, even dollar diplomacy, which from a humanitarian standpoint is preferable as a method to militaristic imperialism, can be explained on these grounds.

The economic principles of the most-favoured-nation clause and the open door and free trade which have fairly consistently been

advocated, though not applied, by American governments can similarly be explained by the American tradition. In this sphere, especially, Americans are endowed with extraordinary optimism and confidence, which are maintained by vigorous propaganda from those who derive particular benefits from a free enterprise system. The experience of the frontier created trust in the unlimited possibilities of America, in the blessings of individual competition, which, in turn, breeds the conviction that the individual, if left alone and permitted to fend for himself, will receive rewards proportionate to his effort. Booms and depressions, like the uncertainties of the wilderness were parts of a destiny over which man has no control. The " promise of American life " is still to-day, as it was in the past to masses of immigrants, the promise of a career beginning with the selling of newspapers and ending with the ownership of an economic empire. Most of the American people still tend to believe that personal ability, not a system, decides who is to be at the top and who is to be at the bottom of the economic ladder, and that in a free enterprise system everybody is on the ladder where he ought to be according to his qualifications. These beliefs are applied to the international scene. And many Americans cannot understand, therefore, why other nations should refuse to compete for the goods and the markets of the world. Not realizing that competition is fair only—as it was to a degree on the frontier—when the start is the same for all, they do not see why unhampered competition, the open door, free trade, are unacceptable to nations which possess a mere fraction of the wealth of the United States.

This generalizing analysis of American foreign policy provides a clue to the contradictory reactions from abroad. It is the same clue which explains many contradictory reactions within the United States: the dilemma between the heavily accentuated idealism and the inevitable necessity to deviate from it. American pronouncements, always formulated in idealistic terms, have a strong appeal abroad and serve as inspiration in many situations. They raise expectations. American actions cannot always accord with them, of which fact foreign peoples are often more acutely aware than Americans. They create disappointment and resentment. Americans are puzzled by the bitter criticisms so frequently directed at them, while foreigners judge Americans to be dishonest. Americans, particularly those engaged in occupation duty in Germany and Japan, are just beginning to realize how much they are expected to live up to their own ideals, how great a responsibility the American Creed puts upon them.

(*The author writes from Minneapolis where he lectures in the Department of Political Science at the University of Minnesota.*)

OIL AND THE PERSIAN GULF

By Kenneth Williams

IT is a curious phenomenon, well-known to oil men, but frequently unrealized by the world in general, that crude oil is often found in comparatively inaccessible and absolutely uncongenial parts of the earth. Of accessibility it may be said, truly, that the aeroplane can take individuals fairly close to most spots in which oil is likely to be discovered, but aircraft can by no means take the vast paraphernalia essential to the quest for oil. Of uncongeniality it may be said that in desert or jungle the oil man has to create his own amenities. To this general, or, at any rate, common condition may in large measure be attributed the fact that the pioneers are, almost by definition, of the " tough " type, inured, that is, to initial hardship and to lack of physical comforts and recreation, whether they be drilling in remote desert or foothill or laying pipe-lines across open steppe. Nor can those accessory to the oil industry, such as the men who build harbours and jetties where no port previously existed, or lay down prefabricated houses on land formerly innocent even of tents or mud huts, be omitted from the list of those who to-day are bringing to territories hitherto almost, or wholly, untouched by progress, what are called the blessings of civilization. These men transform the scene, both superficially and, more important, potentially ; but it may be said that they solve the problem of financial stability for the particular State in which oil is found, only to create another, the problem of how best shall be spent the money accruing from the exploitation of oil by the authorities to whom oil royalties are due.

Nowhere in the world, perhaps, is this prospect of transformation more marked than in the Persian Gulf, a region which is infallibly destined to produce more and more oil, whether from wells drilled in dry land or in the shallow waters of the Gulf. During a recent visit to this area, I was thinking, in this connection, not of such a well-established industry as has been created by the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company in south-west Persia, nor even of the considerable future which awaits the development of oil in the Basrah vilayet by a subsidiary of the Iraq Petroleum Company (these two enterprises are, or will be, identified with two States, Persia and Iraq, which possess a long history, each at various times in the forefront of

the story of civilization), but of the principalities or shaikhdoms in the Persian Gulf. The history of these is known to only a small number of students, and they are rarely visited by Europeans or Americans for pleasure alone. The story of these regions is, for practical purposes, to be reckoned rather in centuries than in millennia. One thinks, for instance, of Kuwait, which in 1949 produced no less than 12,371,000 tons of oil (from what is believed to be one of the richest single oilfields in the world) ; of Bahrain, which in 1949 produced 1,600,000 tons of oil ; of Qatar, which in 1950 began a production which is expected to be, during the year, between one and two million tons ; of Dubai, which already has in Ras Sadr an exploratory well; and of several other territories, the oil wealth of which has yet to be demonstrated but which is predicted with some confidence.

How are the relatively huge sums which are coming, or will come, to these hitherto comparatively poor countries to be spent ? Are they to be regarded as the perquisite of the ruling family alone ? Or are they to be devoted to the general welfare of the inhabitants in whose State oil has been, or will be, found ? Or, if the human and physical resources of the State enjoying oil royalties are not such as to make feasible the internal spending of such sums, are the royalties in part to be devoted to some external object ? These are questions which provide serious and almost daily discussion in the Gulf.

In one of these territories, Bahrain, the oil revenues are very sagely handled by the administration. The Shaikh of Bahrain is advised by a single-minded Briton, Mr. Dalrymple Belgrave, whose annual reports are available for anyone who wishes to see the details of income and expenditure. Bahrain by general consent is well-administered (a French diplomat in Baghdad, for example, told me that he thought it was a model in the Gulf), and though its royalties from oil are not large, compared with those of some other Arab States, they are admirably spent or husbanded. This independent Arab shaikhdom provides, indeed, an encouraging instance of Anglo-Arab co-operation, alike in planning and execution. The tradition of Anglo-Arab co-operation in Bahrain is, however, of some standing and the discovery of oil during the 'thirties by an American company only meant, in effect, a further dove-tailing of British advice with the enlightened wishes of the Bahrain Government.

So intimate a connection as exists between the local governmen and the British Adviser in Bahrain has yet to be forged in othe principalities in the Gulf ; and a burden, heavy and urgent, woul appear to be weighing upon the British Government, by which i implied, in the first place, the Foreign Office. This recently tool over from the Government of India the cares of the External Affair Department of that Government. That these territories will b

entitled to a steady, if not an increasing, flow of royalties would seem to be almost certain (though admittedly only drilling can pronounce whether oil exists in commercial quantities). Only a collapse in world demand for oil would make it unprofitable for the companies holding concessions in these territories not to develop them—and the history of oil is full of ups and downs. In this world demand, there may well be fluctuations.

Here, one may profitably insert an interpolation. Let it not be thought that, rich though the whole Persian Gulf area may be in oil, one has only to sink a well to bring up " liquid gold ". Kuwait alone provides instances to the contrary. In their first investigations in the northern section of the territory, the Kuwait Oil Company (half British, half American) were unsuccessful ; and in the " neutral zone " between Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, a wholly American organization sank a well which, early in 1950, provided no conclusive results. Even in " probable " territory, therefore, the oil company has to risk expensive tests.

Meanwhile, those territories in which no drilling has yet taken place are, understandably enough, jealous of those shaikhdoms in which oil has been found and from which it is now being exported. " What has Shaikh So-and-So got that I have not ? " is an attitude by no means confined to affairs of the heart. The average Arab inhabitant of the Persian Gulf has a keen sense of money, and even if in many ways Arabs feel a kinship with each other, the Gulf Arab can scarcely be expected, in his present state of knowledge, to comprehend why a foreign oil company should prefer to begin operations in a territory other than his own.

But the main problem of the Gulf, however—of how oil revenues shall be spent—is one of considerable social and political significance. It has arisen rather suddenly, and it is imperative that the British Government should give it earnest and immediate attention. If the various Gulf rulers were to be allowed to fritter away their quickly obtained wealth, the resultant odium would attach to the British Government. One need not re-emphasize here the difficulty in which the Government already stands in meeting the charge that it is too closely identified with what the enemies of Britain call reactionary and feudal Arab cliques. But I am not dealing here with the better known Arab States. I am emphasizing that the British Government has the opportunity, which once missed may never recur, of helping to put the lesser known regions of the Persian Gulf along the right road of development and contentment. What happens during the next few years may determine for long whether good or bad use is to be made of the fortunes which no one before the 1914-1918 war could have predicted.

The rulers of these various small States must, in my opinion, be

given obligatory advice, on how to spend these oil royalties. There is likely to be little disagreement on this point among informed circles in the Gulf, though admittedly there is a difference of opinion on the degree to which nominally independent rulers can be told how to spend State revenues. In any case, there must be no repetition of the story, current in the Gulf, that one particular ruler simply buried in the ground the payments he had had from an oil company. It is not so easy, however, for the inexpert observer to suggest precisely how these incomes should be used as it is to criticize the way some royalties have been spent by some States in the Gulf. That the monies from oil should be spent primarily on raising the standards of the whole community, and not merely those of the ruling family, is a truism. But the Gulf is no place for doctrinaires. It is futile for the omniscient visitor from the west to assert that so much should be spent on education, so much on public health, so much on security, so much on agricultural development, and so on. Such an attitude is all too trite. Diagnosis and recommendation (or command) must be made after profound study of local conditions. Things which seem obviously desirable in themselves are not necessarily applicable universally. To take a concrete example, it is of little use talking about greatly improved irrigation for agriculture if a State happens to lack all water supplies ; and there is more than one Arab shaikhdom in which all drinking water has to be imported, or obtained from distillation plants. The British Adviser to these Arab territories has often to forget all about roads and sanitation, about trees and grass and to remember, above all, that he is in desert land.

A beginning has been made in the appointment to some of these small States of British Advisers. Such advisers must patently be on excellent terms, not only with the Arabs themselves and with the oil companies concerned, but also with the local representatives of the British Government, who are headed by the political Resident, with headquarters at Bahrain. These Political Agents, or Assistant Political Agents, cannot of themselves dictate how the royalties should be spent ; their hands are already full with other aspects of Anglo-Arab relations. The advisers must, therefore, be other men, possibly paid for by the shaikhdom in question, yet able virtually to impose their solutions of how State revenues should be spent. These men must possess not only tact and sympathy, firmness and resolve, but also imagination and vision ; they must form to themselves a picture of what the Persian Gulf, with the progressive exploitation of oil, will be like in five, ten, twenty years' time ; they must, in the literal sense of an over-worked word, be creative.

There is no need, moreover, to anticipate that the local authorities in the Persian Gulf, rough-hewn as they may be if judged (as they ought not to be judged) by western standards, will be averse to

enlightened guidance. It is true that in several places one can hear blessings offered to Heaven for the fact that the Gulf has not yet been invaded by the lawyer-type of Arab politician, by the vernacular press, by the " semi-baked Effendi " class, and so on. But the soil for reform could, metaphorically, be fertile enough, if only the right kind of adviser were to be found. Such an adviser must, if only because of the terrain and of the mentality among which he has to work, be possessed of a sense of mission ; the Gulf is no place for the man with antecedently " bright " ideas who looks for rapid results. But, given patience, he has the chance of directing aright a region which is at the dawn of a new era, a region which willy-nilly, coming every month into closer contact with the outside world, will be going straight from the camel age to the age of the jet engine or the super-tanker.

It is possible that one of the chief difficulties which such advisers may experience will be the *penchant* of the Arab for individual projects and some initial shying at the notion of overall planning. One could point, as an example of the former, to the enthusiastic way in which the authorities in Kuwait have supported alike their new Civil Hospital, headed by a British doctor, and staffed by Palestinian nurses, and their growing number of boys' and girls' schools. It is true, moreover, that it would be folly to attempt to rush fences in any of these backward Arab shaikhdoms. The importation and imposition of foreign ideas must, manifestly, be done with great circumspection. Local susceptibilities must be taken into unceasing account. But the goal of a reformed and more virile society must be kept in view. No truck should be given to vested interests, if those interests can be proved to be held by a single individual or by a single family. The " get rich quickly " mentality, which is so distressing a feature of some more advanced Arab States, is not lacking in the Persian Gulf. The business-man in the Gulf is, indeed, as shrewd as are his counterparts anywhere else in the world, and if he is allowed to dictate the pattern of the future economy of the Gulf, there will be trouble.

From the complications and implications of such a pattern only one power can save the Gulf, and that power is Britain. In the eyes of the Arab shaikhdoms, there is still no country to compare with it. It was Britain which rescued the Gulf from the evils of gun-running, piracy, and the slave-trade ; yet, such is the mentality of the Gulf, it is at least arguable that, if Britain's hand were withdrawn, some, at any rate, of those evils might soon reappear. Now, on the eve of the creation of what in some countries might be called a proletarian community in the Gulf, engaged in the oil industry (which is itself vitally alive to the implications of its operations and which is doing much in the way of hospitals, schools, and so on), it will be

to Britain that these shaikhdoms will again turn for guidance through an unprecedented period. Lacking guidance, or with misdirected guidance, the Gulf could become a sorry place, a hunting-ground for adventurers possessed of no social conscience. But if, *Inshallah*, that guidance is wisely and unstintedly applied, the Gulf may become a region to which the civilized world in general and Arabs in particular may in centuries to come look with pride.

Sometimes, possibly, it will not be easy to see the wood for the trees. Local " patriotism " in these shaikhdoms may take strange forms. There may be jealousy of Arabs from other lands taking part in the oil development of these territories. There may be special problems arising from the fact that poor Bedu, with the traditions of the free desert in his blood, may be tempted to accept well-paid jobs in the oil industry and agree to live under a roof, which to the nomad is frequently like a prison. There may be differences between local administration and adviser on priorities in local developments.

But through all such problems and many more that will almost certainly arise, good will and a steady purpose can find a way. It may be that Britain's rôle in the twentieth-century Gulf will, though less spectacular, surpass in achievement her glorious deeds in those remote lands in the nineteenth century. During that century, she inhibited certain evils, but in these present years she has the opportunity of creating benefits, not so much by stamping out glaring ills as by pointing the way to better things. The prevention of piracy and slavery meant misfortune to a few Arab individuals the wise expenditure of oil royalties may mean happiness for thousands.

(*The author has just returned from an intensive tour which included the Persian Gulf, Southern Persia, Iraq, the Lebanon, Syria, the Jordan Arab Palestine and Egypt.*)

POLITICS IN PAKISTAN

By Sir William P. Barton

PAKISTAN had an unpropitious start in her introduction to statehood. The brief interlude between the decision to divide India and actual partition left little time for preparing the ground. A capital had to be improvised : there was no central government. The Muslim element in the Indian army assigned to the new State was distributed in class units all over India and had to be extracted and re-organized. That adequate forces were not available at the outset to the Muslim leaders was largely responsible for the communal clashes, with appalling loss of life, along the frontier between the East and West Panjab.

Lahore had obvious claims to be the centre of the new Dominion ; it was rejected on the ground that it was too near the Indian frontier. The honour was conferred on Karachi, for many years the *entrepôt* of the trade of the undivided Panjab, and headquarters of the small province of Sind. Accommodation is limited and with a desert extending for hundreds of miles on the outskirts of the town and a negligible rain-fall, the prospect was not altogether attractive. The influx of half a million refugees from India was an added complication. The Qaidi Azam and an able group of Muslim officers and politicians speedily improvised a Government for the whole State with the essential departments : this too, despite the loss of many records and subordinate Muslim staff as the result of attacks by Sikhs on trains from Delhi to Karachi. The organization of the army was hampered by the withholding by India of Pakistan's share (140,000 tons) of the military stores and equipment to which she was entitled by the Radcliff Award. One may comment in parenthesis that very little of this material has been delivered. The fact that all the ordnance factories were in India was another disadvantage from the military point of view. It would have been possible to dismantle one or more of these factories and send the equipment to Pakistan.

Sind is to have a new capital for which the central Government will provide the finance, 50 miles away from Karachi on the Indus. It is planned to expand Karachi itself to fit it for the rôle it is to play in the life of the new Dominion.

The security of the North-west frontier, from Quetta to the Pamirs, has been a major element in British imperial strategy for the last

hundred years. Its main objective was to prepare against a possible attack from Russia ; partition threw the responsibility of holding this great international frontier on Pakistan. There was no pledge of support from India : none from Britain. Could Pakistan be expected to fulfil the rôle with less than a third of the resources of the sub-continent, its army still unorganized and lacking in equipment and stores ? What was the attitude of the Delhi authorities and Whitehall to this problem of military strategy ? Conditions on the frontier were, at the time, unstable. A revolutionary group of Pathans, known as the Red Shirts, financed and sponsored by the Indian Congress, had succeeded in setting up a Government at Peshawar with Dr. Khan Sahib, a strong supporter of Congress, as Prime Minister. The object of the Red Shirts was to form a republic in the North-West frontier which would reject Pakistan and ally itself with India. This obviously would have made the position of Pakistan impossible. The Qaidi Azam Jinnah saw the danger and insisted on a referendum on the question before partition. The result was that the Pathans of the province gave a verdict in favour of Pakistan. The Congress Ministry however continued to function till partition when it was promptly dismissed by Mr. Jinnah. But the Red Shirt movement was still alive : there was the added danger that the Kabul authorities, seeing in this break-up of the British Empire of India an opportunity of recovering Afghanistan *irredenta* in other words, the North-West Frontier Province to the Indus, and in the South, Baluchistan, supported the demand of the Red Shirts at Delhi for the setting up of a republic in the province. This was beyond the competence of the Indian Government to decide : the Pakistan Government, when it came into power, naturally rejected it. Thereupon Kabul insisted that the Afghan tribes of the hinterland between the Durand Line (the international frontier with Afghanistan) and the boundary of the settled districts, should be handed over to the Afghan Government. There are 2,500,000 of these Afghans in the hill country referred to, known generally as the tribal belt. The inclusion of these tribes in Afghanistan would have made the administration of the Frontier Province impossible. Pakistan refused to discuss the matter.

Now the Delhi authorities, and, of course, Whitehall, must have been well aware of possible trouble on the Afghan frontier caused by the attitude of Kabul. For anything they knew the frontier tribes might have declared for Afghanistan. Had they done so almost inevitably, with the support of the Afghans, they would have seized the Frontier Province. Pakistan with its army unorganized and only partially equipped, would not have been in a position to hold them up. Would India have felt secure with militant Islam on the Indus and only a weak Pakistan in the Panjab as a buffer

The unconcern of Delhi and Whitehall for the safety of the Afghan frontier at partition is indeed surprising. They seem to have forgotten that the trans-border tribes and tribal States like Swat, Dir, Chitral, Kelat, had a peculiar constitutional position which should have been defined. All that happened was that at the last minute a declaration was put out that the status and customs of trans-border territory would be preserved. Political circles in Karachi remark cynically that Delhi was prepared to risk trouble on the Afghan frontier because the embarrassment it would cause to Pakistan might lead to her collapse.

Fortunately for Pakistan, and for that matter, for India, the frontier tribes decided to join Pakistan. A particular inducement was that the Pakistan Government pledged itself to maintain the allowances and the border administrative system of the British régime, involving an expenditure of £5,000,000 sterling, a generous provision with which Afghanistan could not compete. It would have absorbed nearly its whole revenue. Most of it goes into tribal pockets. Without it the tribesmen would have found existence difficult.

How fortunate was India at partition compared to her rival ! She had a splendid up-to-date capital in Delhi ready to her hands and a highly organized central Government which she took over practically intact. She had nearly all the coal fields of the sub-continent, the major part of the foreign trade, and practically all industry organized on modern lines including engineering. Another advantage was that central finance and the Reserve Bank were part of her heritage from Britain. The Indian provinces were in close association with Delhi where their problems were understood.

The Pakistan provinces, on the other hand, had to adapt themselves to a new orientation ; to look to Karachi instead of to Delhi. They could hardly be described as homogeneous. East Bengal, separated from the western wing by 1,200 miles of India, was racially different—Mongolo-Dravidian, as compared with the Indo-Aryan of the Panjab and Sind, and the Turco-Iranian of the frontier. There were, at partition, no economic links between the east and west wings : the east speaks a different language—Bengali. There are differences too between the populations of the other wing. Thus Sind speaks a language of its own, distinct from Panjabi ; though there are racial affinities between it and the Panjab, they differ in traditions and history. The Afghans of the frontier, racially distinct with a different language—Pushtu—are more closely associated historically with Afghanistan than with the Panjab. The Frontier Province was, in point of fact, a part of the Afghan Empire for nearly a century, from the time of Ahmad Shah Durrani, to the occupation of part of the province by the Sikh Maharaja, Ranjit Singh, in 1819. Yet despite the differing characteristics of the various groups, the

cohesive force of Islam has brought about a surprising degree of unity, both of outlook and ideals. The firm and able leadership of the late Qaidi Azam and his successors, has played an outstanding part in laying the foundations and the building up of this great new Muslim State. But for statesmen like Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan, Mr. Ghulam Muhammad, a financial genius, Sir Zafarullah, H. E. Khawja Nazim-ud-Din, to mention a few of them, one doubts if Pakistan would have survived.

The central Government at Karachi had hardly got into their stride when the storm broke over Kashmir. Though the State is 80 per cent. Muslim and, geographically and economically, linked with Pakistan, the Indian Government accepted the Maharaja's offer of accession and sent troops into the Kashmir Valley. Later on, the Pakistan Government also moved troops into the country and, with local levies, their forces now hold the northern regions of the State and on the west, a strip from Gilgit to the Panjab frontier. UNO was invited to mediate, and induced the two Governments to stop the fighting and adhere to a truce line pending a final settlement. Both are ready to accept a plebiscite ; the difficulty is to establish conditions that will ensure absolute impartiality. The issues on this point have now been referred to a UN mediator.

On the whole the administration, both central and provincial, has been satisfactory. Partition found popular governments functioning in all the provinces except in the backward area of Baluchistan. All are still in operation except in the Panjab where the quarrels of rival groups of the Muslim League almost paralysed the administration. In the end the central Government intervened ; the Assembly was dissolved and the administration placed in the hands of the Governor, at that time a British civil servant, Sir Francis Mudie. He resigned shortly after in consequence of difficulties in appointing his advisers. A member of the central Government, Sirdar Abdur-Rab-Nishtar, succeeded him. So far popular government has not been restored in the Panjab.

Local administrations have had to contend with corruption and nepotism. The centre have, where necessary, intervened : there have been cases where Ministers have been indicted in the courts for irregular practices. Some members of local branches of the Muslim League do not regard it as inconsistent with democratic principles to attempt to bring pressure to bear on the local administration in their own interests. Many of those who played a leading part in the agitation for self-government consider themselves entitled to share the spoils. Provincial feeling is strong and the central Government have to make allowances for it. This is particularly the case with eastern Bengal. As against this, there are no left wing movements : no socialist tendencies. So far communist infection

has not spread widely. There is, however, some trouble from it in east Bengal, mainly due to Communism from Calcutta and Assam.

A wise policy in the provinces has aimed at improving the economic position of the peasantry. Thus, in eastern Bengal, the Permanent Settlement, a British blunder of 150 years ago, which riveted a semi-feudal system on Bengal, mainly in the interests of big Hindu land-owners, has been abolished. In the north-west frontier, the *jàgir* system, under which large blocks of land revenue were assigned to feudal land-owners, has been done away with. Similar measures are pending in Sind. The Constituent Assembly functions as a Parliament. There is practically no opposition ; such as it is, it consists of a handful of Congress Hindus, mostly from Bengal and a few disgruntled Muslim leaders. It is useful as a sounding board for public opinion. So far the central Government have been too pre-occupied with Kashmir and other troubles with neighbours to admit of concentrating on building a new constitution. The prevalent idea is to evolve a State based on Islamic principles, social equality, religious freedom and equal opportunity for all. A federal form of Government with a bi-cameral legislature will probably be adopted. Some political thinkers in Pakistan are doubtful of the suitability of the British democratic system to an eastern community : others fear lest adult suffrage should offer too much scope to the demagogue.

Finance, both central and provincial, is generally on a sound basis. A Reserve Bank has been established which is functioning satisfactorily. Commercial banking in pre-partition days in Pakistan was mostly in the hands of Hindus who fled the country when the Muslims took over the administration. The difficulties caused by the break-down of banking facilities have now been, more or less, overcome. The three central budgets since partition, including that for 1950-1951, have been balanced with small surpluses. This has not always been the case in the provinces, but there are no serious deficits. One great advantage that Pakistan possesses over the neighbour Dominion is that she is self-supporting in food ; indeed in a good year, has a surplus for export, most of which India used to buy. India, on the other hand, has to import nearly £100,000,000 worth of food. Another advantage of Pakistan as compared with India is that she has a favourable trade balance arising from large exports of jute, high quality cotton, tea and hides.

The prospects for a great development of agriculture are favourable. Over a million acres are being brought under irrigation from the Indus at Mianwali in the Panjab : the foundation stone of a barrage on the same river at Kotri in Sind from which 3,000,000 acres of desert will be irrigated was laid a month or so ago by the Governor General. Electricity will be developed at this point and canal water

will be taken as far as Karachi. There are possibilities of irrigating large areas from tube wells in the Panjab and the North-West frontier as electric power becomes available. Millions of acres in the Thar desert in the Panjab and in Rajputana, now an Indian province, could be irrigated from reservoirs constructed in Kashmir : this might be a joint enterprise carried out by India and Pakistan if they could compose their quarrels. After all their economic systems are complementary. Neither can really thrive without the other.

The Pakistan Government realize that to improve the standard of living and to build up the industries necessary if the country is to be militarily strong, there must be planning on a comprehensive scale. Progress is handicapped by the lack of coal and iron ore. It is true that coal of an inferior quality is found in Sind and Baluchistan, but the deposits are not large. To provide power, big hydro-electric schemes have been devised and there are many possibilities of the kind. An electric grid will be set up over the Panjab and other provinces as these schemes develop. There is oil near Attock on the Indus and other deposits in Sind and the West Panjab ; it is hoped that the yield will, in time, cover about one sixth of the country's requirements.

The economic life of the country is blighted by the enormous charges incurred for defence, absorbing nearly 75 per cent. of the central budget. Another impediment to progress in the economic field has been the practical breaking off of all trade relations with India following on the decision of the Pakistan Government not to devalue their rupee. India followed the policy of His Majesty's Government in devaluing sterling and the result of the Pakistani policy is that the cost of the cotton and jute which Pakistan supplies to India has increased by over 40 per cent. in Indian rupees. India refuses to buy at the price and declines to supply to Pakistan the 2,000,000 tons of coal a year which her Government have contracted to make available. Pakistan no longer buys Indian textiles. Most of the jute crop of Pakistan goes to the Calcutta mills ; the refusal of India to buy leaves a considerable surplus in east Bengal. Pakistan hopes to get rid of this by increased sales in Europe and the United States. The trouble will probably be met later on by a compromise. But it may be remarked that there was no reason whatever why Pakistan, with a favourable trade balance, should sell her exports to India in return for depreciated rupees.

The Pakistan Government have established friendly relations with most countries in the international field. Muslim States, Persia, Turkey, Egypt, Iraq, for example, criticize the attitude of Afghanistan towards her Muslim neighbour and condemn India's policy in Kashmir. Many countries have sent trade delegations to Pakistan and have entered into trade agreements with Japan,

Czechoslovakia, France and Belgium. A Russian trade delegation spent some time in Karachi last summer without reaching an agreement. Ambassadors have now been exchanged between the two countries and trade negotiations have been resumed. Last year when the Kashmir trouble had reached an acute stage, the Kremlin invited the Pakistan Prime Minister to Moscow. The reactions in the country were startling. "Russia is with us" was a common headline in the press; the people felt that, should a crisis develop in the quarrel with India, they could rely on Russian intervention. In political circles generally in Karachi, one heard it said that it would be better for Pakistan to become a satellite of Russia than to be re-absorbed into India. So far no date has been fixed for the Prime Minister's visit to Moscow. Meanwhile, he has been invited to Washington and is expected to go there early in May. The American invitation is much appreciated.

Pakistan intends to stay in the Commonwealth. Nevertheless one hears doubts expressed in many quarters as to the advantage of the association if the member Dominions are unable to intervene in such disputes between their partners as that between Pakistan and India over Kashmir. Many Pakistanis will tell you that they appealed to Britain at the outset to help bring about a settlement; there was no response. His Majesty's Government preferred to remain neutral. Then again one hears criticisms of the policy of the British Government in what Pakistanis describe as the extreme lengths to which they went to make it possible for India to remain linked to the Commonwealth as a republic. It was considered that Pakistan needed no blandishments. "But," some Pakistanis say, "why shouldn't we follow India's example and set up a republic? The glamour of the status it would give us in the political world might have a dangerous attraction and make it difficult for steadier opinion to prevail." Resentment is felt as already noted, at the British Government's failure to take strong action to induce Kabul to abandon its provocative attitude towards Pakistan. Another matter in which Pakistanis feel that Britain has not shown a friendly interest, is the economic development of the country. They look to British enterprise to play an important part in carrying out the big schemes to industrialize the country. It is to be hoped that the British trade mission that has recently visited Pakistan may have succeeded in convincing people generally that Britain is ready to give them the help they need. British co-operation is well worth while. Not only would it strengthen the ties between Pakistan and the Commonwealth but would provide a market for British goods which would expand rapidly as the great natural resources are exploited.

Unfortunate developments effecting the problem of minorities during the past two or three months have increased the tension

between the two Dominions and brought about conditions in the two Bengals almost as explosive as those arising from the quarrel over Kashmir. There have been Hindu-Muslim clashes in Calcutta and the neighbourhood, in Bihar and Assam on the Indian side, and in east Bengal-Pakistan, involving heavy loss of life and destruction of property. Mass movements of terrified Hindus and Muslims in both directions embarrass both Governments. Exaggerated reports, both in the Pakistan and Indian press, have inflamed feelings on both sides. It is almost impossible in existing conditions to assess responsibility for the outbreaks. Each side naturally accuses the other. One may comment, however, that the irredentism of the Hindu Mahasabha and its left wing, the R.S.S. (Rastriya Swayam Sewak Sabha) militates against the chances of an enduring settlement. The Mahasabha and the recently formed committee for the protection of the rights of minorities have brought pressure on the Indian Government to take ' police action ' in east Bengal. " Take over Bengal ", a prominent Hindu leader asserted the other day, " and the whole of Pakistan would collapse like a house of cards." A reassuring feature in the situation is that Pandit Nehru, Prime Minister of India, is opposed to provocative action. Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan, Prime Minister of Pakistan, for his part, is endeavouring to allay Muslim fears. Both men are anxious to evolve an organization that would give minorities the protection and security they must have if the two Dominions are to exist peaceably side by side.

While Hindus and Muslims are at daggers drawn, a danger that threatens them both—a danger that might bring them down in ruin—is growing on the northern and north-eastern frontiers of the two Dominions. The red tide of Communism is moving inexorably towards them. Tibet will soon be over-run and Sinkiang, on the Kashmir border, is in communist hands.

That Pakistan and India should settle their differences and work together in peace and harmony almost becomes a question of survival. Time is of the essence of the matter. Unless UNO's efforts speedily lead to a settlement of the Kashmir problem, the Commonwealth should unquestionably intervene and endeavour to end the quarrel between the rivals. Americans are beginning to realize that these quarrels are an obstacle to the defence of south-east Asia and the Middle East against Communism. The U.S.A. might think it worth while to add their moral weight to the Commonwealth approach by giving it their support.

(*The author has recently returned from Pakistan.*)

THE FUTURE OF DEFENCE

By W. T. Wells, M.P.

THE annual Statement on Defence* has since 1945 become as regular, if scarcely as welcome a feature of the spring as the snowdrop or the daffodil. This year, several factors have contributed to making public discussion of the subject of more striking and manifest importance than in any year of this period. First, the Government's white paper itself was based to some extent on the report of " a comprehensive inter-Service review of the future development of the forces which "—to use the document's own words—" the Government put in hand just over a year ago in order to establish the rôles of the three Services in present circumstances and to ensure that full value was obtained for the money spent on the defence budget." Secondly, a meeting of the Defence Ministers of the powers that subscribed to the Atlantic Pact, while little information of its doings and decisions has, rightly enough perhaps, been made available to the public, has at least served to accentuate the fact that the Atlantic powers are addressing themselves seriously to the task of making the defence of the western hemisphere a reality. Thirdly, this meeting has served to dramatize, for the public mind, the increasingly sharp and dangerous nature of the division of the world into two aggregations of power whose thinly veiled hostility may at any moment be transformed into an open conflict, and one whose potentiality for destruction seems almost unbounded.

The problem of present-day security clearly presents difficulties, both of a technical and a political order, of a magnitude unprecedented even in relation to the perennially baffling problem of the defence of the British Commonwealth and Empire. Even if it were possible to look at the technical problems alone, as though they existed in a political vacuum, they would appear almost insuperable. In essence, the questions are the extent to which, and the pace at which, science and technology will revolutionize warfare ; and even here, the real issues seem to be political and psychological rather than technical. Will an aggressor in modern war be guided by the kind of calculation that shaped the thoughts of statesmen of the eighteenth century ; whether on balance a given strategy will do more harm or good to the rational, material projects that he is seeking to further, or will he

* Comd. 7895

be inspired by the belief that the world is not large enough to hold both himself and his opponent and that the latter, therefore, must be destroyed even if the cost be to inflict grievous injury on himself? If he goes to the one extreme, it is probable that he will use comparatively few of the new weapons that have come into being, or at least into common knowledge, since 1945 ; only if he goes to the latter extreme will he be minded to use the hydrogen bomb. And between the two extremes lies an infinite field for speculation the whole process being not much more within the scope of clear and accurate thinking than is crystal-gazing.

Yet even so, leaving on one side, as it were, the most difficult problem of all, namely the mind of man, the purely technical possibilities are sufficiently diverse. After Hiroshima and Nagasaki, as invariably happens with a new weapon, the talk was all that there could be no defence against the atom bomb, and even, in defiance of the history of a number of other weapons, that since it was there it was bound to be used. To-day, not only is the latter argument being brought into perspective and the word ' may ' being substituted for the word ' must ', but the prospect of the defence mastering the attack has been brought within the bounds not only of possibility but perhaps even of probability.

It is against this background that the Government's white paper on defence must be read, If, in the midst of a technical revolution, the statement, relating to the inter-Service review already referred to, that: "This review made it clear that there were no grounds for any substantial change in the relative rôles of the three Services, or for the drastic curtailment of the strength of any one of of them," may fall somewhat flat, the reasons for its being made are tolerably clear. There is no real certainty that, should war break out within the next few years, its character would be fundamentally different from that of the closing phases of the war in the Low Countries and Germany in 1944-1945 ; and while the probability is that even if the materials used were the same, the shape they would assume would be quite different, dogmatism on what that shape would be is the prerogative of the inane. In these circumstances the only possible course is to prepare for the use of conventional weapons while carrying on with research into new weapons and the measures to counter them, and, so far as economic considerations allow, to press on with the practical development of both.

To state this as being the central aim of our defence policy, at least in its technical and domestic aspects, is simple enough. The limiting factors that restrict the possibility of applying this policy logically are our current commitments, in Germany, Austria, Malaya, and elsewhere overseas ; the continuing need for economy in manpower ; and the expense. This last affords a simple indication of the

otal drain on our resources imposed by the need for maintaining nilitary preparedness. In 1950-1951 the expenditure on defence is estimated at approximately £780 millions, an increase of some £21,000,000 over the previous year in spite of a decline of some 65,000 n the manpower employed. These are figures that reflect not only he high cost of defence in these years, but also throw light on the dilemma that Soviet policy has thrust, or, at least, is seeking to thrust, upon the western world, of choosing between open defeat through weakness on the one hand, and the undermining of our economies, and of the possibility of presenting an attractive alternative to Communism, through excessive military expenditure, on the other.

This sense of frustration and mounting danger underlay all the recent debates on defence. These brought out, in detail, a number of valuable criticisms and suggestions. Taking the Services singly, he reference made in the Admiralty memorandum accompanying he Navy Estimates* to the threat of " attacks by . . . submarines with underwater speed, submerged endurance and capacity for deep living greater than anything we have faced in the past " was carried further in the debate on the Navy Estimates and, indeed, in the Defence Debate itself, when inquiries were made about the progress with anti-submarine devices, the need for which was repeatedly stressed. The chief anxiety expressed about the Army, except Mr. Churchill's expected criticisms of the lack of highly organized ormations to serve as the kernel of expeditionary forces on the lines of 1914 and 1939, was the shortage of regular recruits. Whether higher pay is the cure for this evil must remain an academic question o long as an attempt is made to operate a policy of freezing wages. And the most important announcements about the Royal Air Force were the projected doubling of the jet fighter strength of fighter Command and the projected increase in the striking power of bomber Command by the formation of new squadrons equipped with B.29 aircraft supplied under the Mutual Defence Assistance Programme.

These, and a number of other interesting points raised in the course of the debates, have a great deal of bearing on the capacity of the several services to meet effectively whatever demands may be made of hem as, so to speak, separate fighting units. But when every possible nswer has been given, to these and all similar questions, the fundamental problems, whether Great Britain is under modern conditions efensible, and, if so, how, remain unsolved. The truth is that the ountry can be defended, against the kind of threat it is likely to have o face to-day, only as part of a whole, and on the security of the hole depends the security of the part. It is because the most nportant problems of defence are really questions of international

* Comd. 7897

policy that at times a certain air of unreality enters the annual defence debates.

In a sense the defence of Britain has for generations begun overseas. From time immemorial it has been one of the cardinal aims of our foreign policy to prevent the Low Countries from falling into the hands of our enemies. In later years, when Britain has played a part in world policy out of all proportion to the comparatively small though over-crowded population of these islands, it has done so largely because of the wealth and resources of the overseas Empire ; and since so large a part of this has become self-governing the military importance, and indeed the safety, of this country have depended upon the measure in which its policies have received the assent of the countries of the Commonwealth. In this limited sense, there is nothing new in the fact that our military strength is a reflection of our political wisdom and our diplomatic skill ; and in an even more narrow sense it is clearly true that the political and strategic requirements of any country at any time must interact on each other—hence Clausewitz's celebrated dictum that war is the continuation of policy by other means.

In so far, then, as the greatest skill and the greatest courage by those who control and man our fighting services could not suffice to offset the consequences of our foreign policy, were that a mistaken one, there is nothing peculiar or unexpected in Britain's present predicament. What differentiates our position to-day so sharply from the earlier years of this century is that our security is linked up not so much with groups of countries as with groups, or parties or schools of thought, within countries ; for although the United States and the British Commonwealth form, together, a massive bulwark against aggression, they are not, by themselves, enough. The enemy within the gates, in France, in Italy, or in western Germany, might betray positions vital to the protection of the whole ; and what is true of Europe is true also of Asia, and may become true in relation to Africa.

This danger is the weakness both of Western Union and in a lesser degree, of the North Atlantic Council. Our dilemma may be stated in this way : there can be no security for Britain without security for western Europe ; therefore the closest alliance and understanding between Britain and the countries of western Europe are essential. But western Europe is divided, and perhaps fatally divided, against itself ; therefore to base our defence on such a foundation is necessarily insecure. At any moment a vital flank may be turned, or a crucial secret betrayed. This danger is only, on a merely logical view, less in relation to the Atlantic Council in that the membership of the United States and Canada render the part of France and Italy proportionately less important than that of France among the five

Britain, France, Belgium, Holland, and Luxembourg) signatories of he Brussels Treaty.

To state the problem in these terms alone would be not only to ake it appear insoluble but, as so often with analyses that do not o beyond logic, to misunderstand its nature. In great conflicts of ower, much turns on the common opinion which of the contestants the stronger ; and so it is in the cold war. The success, transient ough it may prove to be, of the air lift in opening Berlin to the estern powers, followed by the signature of the Atlantic Pact, has ad immense moral effect. The more that western Europeans ealize that they do not stand alone, but that the United States and he British Commonwealth are fully resolved to maintain free institu- ons in their countries, the more they can be trusted with American nd British military secrets ; and nothing, on the other hand, will ake so many converts to Communism as despair. In the last nalysis, the survival of Europe, the security of Britain, and the efence of North America all turn on there being a common convic- on that all three possess a way of life based on common qualities at they will not exchange for a communist society organized by a ecret police protected by Russian arms.

In spite of the strength of the Communist Party in both Italy and rance, this foundation is less difficult to build on in either of those ountries than in Germany The rearming of western Germany or, o be more accurate, of western Germans, was one of the topics that oused controversy in the House of Commons both in the defence ebate and in the later debate on foreign, particularly European, fairs. The thesis that Germany is an essential part of Europe and at without her participation the comity of Europe cannot be alized is indisputable. It does not necessarily follow that to treat estern Germany as an equal in every respect from the beginning the most effectual means of achieving that comity. There are ements in Germany that are prepared to learn the elementary lessons f politics and to understand that there are other forms of happiness an domination. But such elements in the past have not con- picuously been found in the German armed forces, and to give ermans the idea that the co-operation of German forces in defending urope was urgent and crucial would be to encourage precisely those ements in German life that have brought disaster to Europe and the orld twice in this century. The right balance here is singularly ard to strike, but neither determination wholly to exclude nor haste o embrace seem to be at all appropriate. The Germans must be ven some hope of attaining equality, but though there is much that to be regretted in French public life to-day it is on France, the eator, rather than on Germany, the destroyer, of the old European mmunity that the new must be founded ; and it is impossible to

flout French opinion, French sentiments, or even French self-interest, in dealing with the German problem. Even appeals for justice when made in German sound strangely on the ears of those who have been reared on the Continent in the twentieth century ; and the Germans, in fact, must work their passage.

It is satisfactory, when contemplating our defensive arrangements, to find that nearly £280 million out of the total estimated expenditure of £780 million for the current year is to be devoted to research and production understandably not specified. There seems little reason to doubt that the Government have, with fair consistency, steered a reasonable course between yielding to political and economic pressure, on the one hand, in withdrawing indiscriminately from military commitments and reducing military expenditure, and, on the other hand, giving way to military pressure and to panic in stressing the need for maintaining great military establishments even at the cost of economic recovery, under the constant menace of the cold war. But the question whether our defensive arrangements correspond with the new political realities remains unanswered.

Elaborate charts are available, showing the interrelationship of the various committees set up to work the organization under the Atlantic Pact. But how far has public opinion come to understand that, however admirable may be the organization, equipment, and training of the armed forces, with whatever judgment statesmen hold the balance between the claims of economy and defence, there can be no real security within the traditional framework of the sovereign nation State ?

If it has not yet reached this state of mind, if the public in considerable numbers believes either that the pattern is still that of 1939 or, on the contrary, that the atomic bomb has so revolutionized the world that all precautions are useless, then a great work in the education of public opinion lies ahead. Research by scientists, its application by technicians, the maintenance of equipment, the training of sailors, soldiers and airmen, are all vital, but they will all be wasted unless the public understands the nature of the problem with which they have to deal. It is not so much in their dealings with the forces, which on the whole seem to have been wise and courageous, or with foreign statesmen, where they seem, again on the whole, to have behaved both with discretion and with imagination, as in the leadership they have given our own people that there seems most room for criticism of the Ministers who have been responsible for the Service departments since the war. There is still time, but none to lose, for our people to realize that the technical revolution, important though it is, is secondary to the political revolution of our time.

THE TASK OF THE CHURCH

By The Bishop of Bristol

A READING of Canon Roger Lloyd's new volume* provokes a variety of questions. He has not attempted to write the history of the Church in the period ; that, as he himself says, ıust wait till events can be seen in a longer perspective. What he as done is to depict, in a series of vivid outline sketches, significant spects of its life and work in a variety of fields, and to estimate the ıeasure of advance or decline which such a survey reveals. Naturally ne asks oneself whether, if one had been rash enough to undertake ıe task, one would have made the same selection of material. Amid ıe wide range of topics which might claim treatment in such a survey, as he selected the really significant ones ? Have the events of the en years which have elapsed since his story ended in 1939 justified is estimate ?

The question is in part answered by his own frank admission that ny such choice must be in a sense arbitrary. It will depend to some xtent upon the writer's own priorities of interest. But it will depend ven more upon his fundamental conviction as to the essential tandard by which the true character and effectiveness of the Church ıust be judged. And it is from this point that one may perhaps start, ı what is not to be regarded as a review of his book but rather some second thoughts " prompted by his own reflections.

His entire presentation of his case is coloured, as he himself makes lear, by his judgment that the true ideal of the Church's work is a astoral one. The health of the Church, in his view, depends uopn ıe effectiveness of the work of the parish priest. And the parish riest is first and last a pastor. That is what his people expect of him. hat is the standard by which they judge the value of his work and of ıe Gospel which he seeks to commend.

No one, least of all a diocesan Bishop, would dissent from that erdict. For beyond all question it is the personal ministry of the lergy in town and country which forms the backbone of the life of ıe Church. Ordinary folk will tolerate scholarship, taking perhaps certain pride in the fact that it is sometimes remote and barely ıtelligible ; they will respect really competent administration ; they

* *The Church of England in the 20th century : Vol. II* 1919-1939, by Roger Lloyd. ongmans Green. 18s. 6d.

will venerate saintliness, even if sometimes at a respectful distance. But they will love and respond to a humanity which brings God within reach of their daily concerns, and makes religion a natural part of ordinary life. The principle of the Incarnation still holds. Men can recognize God when he is " brought down to earth." And that is only done by men who spend their lives close to their fellows and bring a sacramental touch into the relationship. There is no question that such a ministry commends the Gospel—as its absence undermines it—as nothing else can.

But one may take leave to ask whether the nature of this pastoral ministry does not require a rather closer inspection. One of Canon Lloyd's most striking chapters ," The Religious Famine ", draws a vivid picture of " the renascence of godlessness," that rapid and vigorous growth in the late 'twenties and early 'thirties of a neo-pagan outlook, ranging from a rather anaemic cynicism which found its chief outlet in the art of 'debunking', to a full-blooded secularism which, in the name of natural science or of Marxism, roundly denounced the Christian view of life as an outworn, or even pernicious, illusion. It is claimed commonly enough that that particular tide is by now past the full. And indeed there are significant signs that, at any rate at higher levels, definite reaction from it has set in. But none the less that tide has left a very considerable deposit. Over large areas of the population the impression has been created that the Christian faith is intellectually untenable or practically irrelevant, or both.

Now a pastoral ministry can only be effective if the sheep want to be fed, and more particularly if they have a taste for the brand of feeding-stuff which is being offered. The plain fact is that to a large extent this is not the case. People are unwilling to hear the Gospel or to use the Church's means of grace because they frankly doubt whether the presuppositions on which they are based are true. It is a waste of time talking to men about their need of God's forgiveness if they are by no means certain that God exists.

This means, of course, that a pastoral ministry must transform itself into a teaching ministry. But again we must know what we mean by the terms we are using. Teaching, to be of any value, must take account of, and adjust itself to, the mentality of the recipient. It must " speak to his condition." And that is where at this moment much of the Church's attempt to teach is just missing the mark. Too often the teacher and those with whom he most desires to get in touch have no common language. The great words of this Christian vocabulary are to the latter an unknown tongue, and the former has not yet acquired the art of translation. The kind of personal ministry which is required is one which sets itself to develop " communication ", the discovery of talking-points at which

Christians and others can find common ground, and begin to explore one another's thought and experience.

This is not, to the extent to which at first sight it might appear, a "third-programme-level" undertaking. That most emphatically is one of the levels at which it is needed, but it happens at the moment to be the one at which it is perhaps easiest to achieve it. It is needed as much, if not more, at the industrial and technological level. For here again it is painfully true that a pastoral ministry, to be effective, must speak in relevant terms : and too often the terms in which the Christian gospel is presented have little bearing on the condition to which it is trying to speak. Even on the personal side it is too individualistic : it fails to take account of the problems arising from large scale human relationships and adjustments.

It was of course to this particular task that Archbishop Temple had begun to make one of his most outstanding contributions, a contribution based equally on acute thinking and on an irresistible sincerity. We are sometimes tempted to think that no-one of lesser gifts can take up his work. That is not so. It needs a genius to blaze the trail, but lesser men can follow if they are prepared to fulfil the conditions.

And this leads naturally to a second major issue raised in Canon Lloyd's survey, the function and responsibility of the laity in the Church of England. His period covers the inauguration of the Church Assembly, and he devotes some space to describing the enthusiasm which that notable experiment evoked, and to the disappointment consequent upon its failure to become what many had hoped.

For myself I believe that the chief cause of the comparative—for it is only comparative—ineffectiveness of the Assembly lies in the failure to match the attention devoted to the central machinery by a equal concentration on what is clearly an essential condition of effectiveness at the centre, the education of Parochial Church Councils and of the laity in general.

We speak somewhat glibly of "the rediscovery of the laity" by the Church of England. But truth to tell, we have not got very far with it. Many of us, clergy and laity alike, are pathetically timid in our explorations and experiments. We are still prone to think of the layman's sphere as primarily administrative or even financial. In my own diocese I have been confronted, in response to a carefully worded inquiry as to the responsibilities of the laity, with the devastating answer : "The responsibilities of the laity are all the non-spiritual work of the parish." We are not likely to get very far on the basis of that kind of thinking.

That mercifully may be regarded as an extreme case, and there are evident signs of better things. In many quarters the laity have of course for long enough been increasingly pulling their weight. They

have recognized their responsibility for a pastoral ministry to their fellow laymen. And now they are beginning to take the second essential step ; they are recognizing that for this they need training, and are beginning to demand it.

This is one of the most encouraging signs of our time. But again everything will depend upon the accuracy with which we discern the true character of the training required, and the skill and patience with which we set ourselves to supply it. What is needed is, quite bluntly, not more of what is sometimes spoken of as " good Church teaching " —the ordinary layman has his own name for that : he calls it " trimmings ". What he knows in his bones that he wants, though he cannot always put it into words, is a straight presentation of the Christian faith in a form which shows it to be an intelligible and reputable alternative to a secularist or materialist view of life, and some indication of how such a faith works itself out in the moral judgments and conduct of those who are trying to live a life of lay, not clerical, Christianity.

A real enlistment of the laity for its true share in the work of the Church would, I believe, result in a variety of by-products, which might go a long way to solving some other pressing problems. It would, for instance, lead to a considerable development of vocations to holy orders in families in which at present that idea is scarcely considered. It would remove one of the greatest sources of apathy and even frustration, by making lay men and women realize that they can do something more than keep accounts or organize a " Christmas Fayre ". Above all it would help to bridge the fatal gap between the clerical and the lay view of life, which is a good deal wider than some of us are prepared to recognize.

I turn now to another question to which Canon Lloyd inevitably devotes a whole section of his book, the question of Unity. There are one or two aspects of it which deserve attention. The first may be called the problem of unity within the Church of England. On pp. 59-60, in estimating the effects of the recovery by Sir Clement Hoskyns and others of a true New Testament theology of the Church, he writes : " The immediate 'practical' result of this movement of theological emphasis is that the strife of the historic parties in the Church has almost completely ceased"—"Partisanship on the century-old lines became out of date "—" High Church and Low Church rapidly became technical terms without meaning." One would dearly like to ask him whether if he were writing in 1950 he would still use the same language. It is certainly true that there has been a real growth in mutual understanding, and that our controversial vocabulary has lost some of its pungency. But whatever the situation may have been in the years of which he is writing, he would be an optimistic, or a very blind, commentator who did not detect a serious

ardening of the familiar lines of cleavage in more recent years.

When one begins to look for the causes of this, it is perhaps hard ccurately to distinguish causes and symptoms. Certainly one ontributory factor is to be found in the training given in our heological colleges, too many of which specialize in one or another rand of Anglicanism, and as a result send out into the ministry men vho are apparently incapable of recognizing that the glory of the Church of England is that it is at once Catholic *and* Reformed. This s not a plea for a levelling out to a colourless indifferentism. On the ontrary, it is a plea for precisely that fresh and radical New Testament pproach to the doctrine of the Church which makes most of our artisanship look not merely sinful, but extremely ignorant and out f date.

But it is in the second aspect of the Unity question that the greatest ause of our internal divisions is to be found. During the past hirty years the oecumenical movement has made startling progress. ut this very fact has created for the Church of England a very ifficult choice. Just because we are Catholic and Reformed, ecause we carry in our tradition unmistakable traces of the two great trands of Christian history, we find ourselves faced with the intensely ifficult task not of war, but of negotiation, on two fronts, advance n one of which is almost inevitably regarded as weakening our osition on the other.

The inevitable result is an increasing pressure on members of our wn Church to align themselves in two camps. We look wistfully—nd with singularly little encouragement—towards Rome : and the vhole Protestant tradition is immediately on its guard. We make a nore definite move in the opposite direction, in which advance is nore possible : and we are denounced as betraying our Catholic eritage. It sometimes looks as though the two most signal experiments of our time, the inauguration of the Church of South India and f the World Council of Churches, might have the tragic result of ividing the very Church which by its history should be the mediator etween the two estranged traditions of Christendom, both of which embodies in its own life.

In such a situation we may well heed those who counsel the virtues f patience and charity. But we must not allow threats of dire onsequences to cow us into mere inaction. Already there is vidence that a policy of boldness can produce interesting reactions n quarters in which they might be least expected. There are convicons and trusts which must not be surrendered. But there are also onditions which must be firmly repudiated.

If one attempts for a moment to close this rough commentary on anon Lloyd's survey by asking the question : " Are the last ten ears years of advance or decline ? " one realizes that the answer

to this question would require another volume of the same scale a his own. The years which have elapsed since then have been wha we all know. Standing as close to them as we do it is almost im possible to pass considered judgment upon them. But if one were t hazard a judgment it would be on the whole rather more hopefu than outward circumstances at least might seem to warrant.

The Church of England is beset by difficulties : shortage of me and money ; an antiquated and intolerably clumsy administrativ machinery which clamours for reform ; a multiplicity of claims upo the time and strength of its officers which leaves far too little roo for considered thought and spiritual refreshment ; an apparen inability to speak a relevant and decisive word to the needs of th age.

But there is something to set on the other side of the account. I the phrase which is by now becoming almost a cliché, the real tas of the Church is to be the Church. Signs are not wanting that tha lesson is being learnt anew. And it may well be that it will be learn more quickly and more thoroughly in a time of adversity. Th historian of a hundred years hence may yet be able to say that th twentieth century was the century in which the Church recovere from the disastrous prosperity of the nineteenth.

CORPORAL PUNISHMENT FOR CRIME

By Claud Mullins

RECENT judicial regrets about the removal of the power to order corporal punishment for those found guilty of crimes of violence against individuals have undoubtedly met with much sympathy. There is every reason for widespread concern. In a debate in the House of Lords on March 23 last Lord Simon, one-time Home Secretary, gave comparative figures for 1938 and 1948, which alone would be sufficient justification for alarm. In 1938, 287 cases of robbery with violence were known to the police, but in 1948 the corresponding number was 1,101.

If proof were forthcoming that a return to sentences of corporal punishment would have the result of reducing materially the number of these grave crimes, few would be found to oppose such a step, however distasteful it might be. Unfortunately many of those who advocate this change of policy have not read the report of the Departmental Committee on Corporal Punishment (1938). That report converted me, but among the general public the same arguments that were proved to be unsound in this report are still being used. Thus even now it is said that garrotting was stopped in Liverpool by the severe sentences of flogging given by Mr. Justice Day. In fact, as the report stated, the official figures of charges of robbery with violence, both before and after Mr. Justice Day's sentences, " do not substantiate the statement that these methods stamped out " this crime. The number of these cases actually increased after these sentences were passed The numbers rose from 176 in three years to 198 in the following three years (p. 84).

Another argument that is frequently put forward in favour of sentences to corporal punishment is that such sentences are deterrent to offenders. But it was found by the Committee that, both with children and men, the subsequent records of those who had been birched or flogged was worse than the records of those who had been otherwise dealt with. In the areas investigated 574 children were birched during a certain period. Of these " 76 per cent. were charged with a fresh offence within two years of being birched." Similar figures were obtained of the results of the comparison of a large number of delinquent children who were dealt with by probation, fines or binding over : " Birching had been less effective as a deterrent

than other methods of treatment." (pp. 23 and 24).

Another study was made of 440 men. This resulted in the opinion that : " It appears that a sentence of imprisonment was no less effective in deterring the offender from committing a further offence of robbery with violence than a sentence of prison, or penal servitude, combined with corporal punishment." This investigation was extended to further offences other than robbery with violence and it was discovered that " the record of the men flogged was worse than that of those who had not been flogged." (p. 81).

But, the argument continues, sentences of corporal punishment at least deter others from committing the offences of violence. The Committee found that " the amount of robbery with violence decreased steadily in the years before the (first) war in spite of a small and decreasing use of corporal punishment, and in recent years has shown a tendency to rise, in spite of a much greater and increasing use of corporal punishment." (p. 89). That rise continued, despite more sentences to flogging. To quote the official volume of *Criminal Statistics* for 1948, the higher courts found 793 persons guilty of serious violence against the person in 1947, and in 1948 the number rose to 939. But, there was a fall in the number of offences that could have been punishable by corporal punishment after September 13, 1948, when the abolition came into force. In the nine months previous to that date the number was 711 and in the corresponding nine months of 1949 it was 596. These figures were given by the Home Secretary in reply to a question on March 9 of this year. A fortnight later the Lord Chancellor gave similar figures and added : " Later figures are not available, but inquiries that I have made do not disclose any evidence for thinking that the reasons which led Parliament to abolish corporal punishment have been invalidated." I am unable to explain the fall in numbers and it is of course, possible that there has been an increase since September 1949. But none the less the fact that there was a substantial fall is a remarkable comment on the argument that corporal punishment is essential for the deterrence of others.

These facts are necessary to refute arguments based on prejudice. More important is the fundamental objection to corporal punishment that it is a blind way of dealing with delinquents. The Committee of 1938 stated that " where the courts resorted to the use of the birch, there was a tendency to deal with the case at once, without giving an opportunity for the probation officer to make full inquiries into the offender's previous history and home circumstances." (p. 28). Does not the same apply to flogging at the order of the higher courts ? In the course of his recent speech Lord Goddard, Lord Chief Justice, told the House of Lords :

> When I have people before me, of whatever age, for these murderous attacks, whether for felonious wounding or robbery with violence, I am afraid I cannot stop to think whether it is lack of police officers which is responsible for it. We have to deal objectively with the case. The man is there in the dock and we have to sentence him there and then.

But is there anything to prevent the higher courts from making full inquiries about these evil-minded offenders ? Crimes of this nature mostly take place in big cities, where the assizes have sufficient work to occupy judges for many days. Thus adjournments after verdicts of guilt should be possible. Is it not essential in the public interest that our courts should have the help of probation officers and, where necessary, of psychiatrists to enable them to understand the reasons for the conduct of those before them ? The recent Criminal Justice Act made special provision for such inquiries in magistrates' courts. There seems to be no reason why they should not take place in the higher courts.

Sentences passed quickly after decisions about guilt are apt to be passed in anger. (So also may be judicial comments about the absence of power to order corporal punishment.) Those on the bench in all criminal courts often have full reason to be angry at the conduct of the defendants before them. But it cannot be wise that decisions about the fate of the guilty should be made before anger has been transferred from the criminal to the deed. This is one of the many reasons why after verdicts of guilt there should be an adjournment for inquiries. During such an interval, which should be for a week at least, the bench finds itself in a better condition to weigh up the situation without emotion.

Sentences to corporal punishment imposed quickly after verdict also give no time for a consideration of the effect that punishment is likely to have on offenders. On one of my visits to London prisons many years ago the governor told me that it was a rule that men who had been flogged were excused work for the rest of the day, but that, while some men were both physically and morally overwhelmed by the flogging and were for days unfit for work, others asked to return to work at once, being fearful of boredom while alone. This is intelligible, but those on the bench who ordered these floggings without expert assistance could have no idea as to how such punishment would affect the offenders, or of its later consequences when the sentences have been served.

The fundamental need to-day in all our criminal courts is that sentences in serious cases, whether for imprisonment, fines, probation or ordinary binding over, should be given only after full inquiry. After an interval for investigations reports by psychiatrists are often helpful to the bench, and in all cases of violence against the person they would seem to be essential. The very fact that a youth or man

violently and gravely assaults anyone should tell a criminal court that there may be some abnormality not due to mere greed or wickedness.

Not being an expert in psychiatry, I cannot explain the conditions, factual or mental, that might result in an urge to commit this brutal kind of crime. But my experience in handling those whom I had to find guilty of lesser crimes of violence taught me that aggression can be the consequence of hidden feelings that have no apparent connection with an individual's conduct. The ' tough guy ' may be in fact a youth who has been deprived of normal affection and who, being in reality weak and dependent, has over-compensated for his disadvantages by becoming a danger to other people. Such types are often recalcitrant and defiant ; they are difficult to treat, but skilled expert handling may have good results. Mere punishment, and particularly brutal punishment, can easily produce a life-long enemy of society.

Illegitimate children, if deprived of a feeling of security and of paternal love and care in the early years, as so many of them are, are specially prone to develop unconscious hatred against those for whom life has been more normal. Dr. E. Graham Howe once wrote that " feeling about father . . . is the basis of our unconscious attitude towards all authority and law." (Paternal authority when used in excess, as happens in some apparently normal homes, can produce an attitude similar to that resulting from its absence.) If there could be a census of churchwardens and Sunday School teachers, for instance, it would probably be found that very few of these worthy people were either born illegitimately or suffered from excessive paternal rule. The rebels against the fundamental demands of society, on the other hand, would be found in large numbers among these categories. A Dutch criminologist, Dr. W. A. Bonger, once wrote that " a natural son runs twice as much danger of becoming criminal as he would if legitimate . . . This danger is even four times as great in the case of a natural daughter." Whether in fact there is a higher percentage of criminals among the illegitimate than among those born in wedlock we have no means of knowing. Such facts are not collected by the Home Office. But that there is a greater danger of criminality among the illegitimate seems obvious and in accordance with the elementary principles of psychology.

Many children who were born in wedlock, but whose parents broke up their home while they were still young, are subject to similar dangers. The action of Parliament in providing free legal aid for those seeking divorce, without having first provided any system whereby unhappy married couples could first discuss their difficulties with sympathetic and trained social workers, was in my opinion an action that may result in an increase in the number of those likely to become enemies of the community.

If in fact an evil deed has been prompted by some unrecognized urge that only psychiatrists can detect, blind punishment may not only fail to deter the offender from future crime, but may well actually encourage its repetition.

There is another reason why those who sit on a criminal bench should be acquainted with the general principles of modern psychology. All who have authority over others, be they teachers, members of a police force, or of a criminal bench, need to realize that they, as well as those in their power, may be influenced by unconscious forces. They need to guard against the possibility that their own reactions to conduct which they have to judge may be influenced by some conflict or tension within themselves. Whether prompted to anger, sympathy or comparative indifference, there is always this danger. Samuel Butler's well-known words are a primitive example of the consequences of this psychological truth :

> Compound for sins they are inclin'd to
> By damning those they have no mind to.

Anger producing a desire to order corporal punishment might also be explained on these lines.

One of the main duties of a criminal court is to pass such a sentence on a guilty offender as will be likely to deter him from repeating his offence. In this important matter magistrates' courts in London and in our large cities have a better record than most of the higher courts. An adjournment for inquiries after finding of guilt, lasting at least a week, is the rule in all serious cases. If the higher courts obtain reports upon the offenders whom they convict, these reports are usually the product of inquiries made before the trials. Such pre-trial investigations are inherently wrong ; they offend against one of the fundamental principles of British justice, namely, that defendants are not guilty till they have been found to be so in open court.

Most calendars of busy assizes and quarter sessions contain cases where those found guilty have long records of earlier crimes. No-one is in the position to say that these offenders would have abstained from further crime if the courts before whom they appeared early in their criminal life had enlisted social and scientific help. But it is highly probable that the passing of sentence, possibly in anger, shortly after the finding of guilt and with no help from experts in abnormal conduct may well fail to be deterrent. A sentence that is not deterrent may be in fact an invitation to further crime.

A consideration that urgently needs attention is that our criminal courts, whether presided over by legally qualified judges or magistrates or by lay justices, are not tribunals equipped with the knowledge that is required for passing sentence under modern conditions. This has to-day become a task for which scientific knowledge is required.

While in the conduct of a trial legal training is an asset, in the framing of sentence it is mainly of value in the knowledge of the maximum sentences which the law prescribes, which is merely clerk's knowledge. However great a lawyer a judge or professional magistrate may be, he, like the lay justice, is a layman in the science of abnormal conduct. This view was well put by Dr. R. M. Jackson in his book *The Machinery of Justice in England*: "An 'experienced' judge means one who is well used to trying defendants and who, speaking generally, makes an excellent job of that side of his duty. But when we come to the passing of sentence, our 'experienced' judge is experienced merely in making up his mind and delivering sentence with complete composure." This very composure can mislead onlookers into believing that in matters of passing sentence the bench is making its decisions after adequate consideration of all relevant aspects of the case. The truth is only too often the opposite.

I am not one of those social optimists who believe that, given the best possible treatment, all criminals can be cured. I believe that some offenders have reached a stage when they should never be allowed again to be free to continue their depredations. But I do most sincerely believe that it is in the best interests of society that all who have committed certain grave crimes, and all those who have shown a tendency to repeat petty crimes should never be sentenced by a court before a study of reports by both social workers and psychiatrists. It is because I believe this that I object to quick sentences to imprisonment and that I welcome the section in the last Criminal Justice Act which abolished all sentences to corporal punishment.

An argument that I have deliberately left to the last is that sentences of corporal punishment are necessary for the satisfaction of the victims of violence and their friends and relations. It is quite natural that injury should provoke a desire for revenge. But if this consideration is to dominate our penal system, all the reforms that have taken place during the last fifty years must be regarded as being on a false basis. If cruelty is to be met with cruelty, in order to satisfy the aggrieved there must be an end to all attempts to reform those who have offended against the criminal law. I prefer to believe that the feelings of sufferers from crime and of those who sympathize with them are better soothed by the knowledge that everything that is possible is being done to cure the offender and thus to prevent other innocent people from suffering similar outrages.

(*The author was formerly Metropolitan Police Court Magistrate South-Western Police Court.*)

THE ROMAN SITE AT LULLINGSTONE

By D. P. Capper

IN a description of the " ancient demesne of Lullingstone ", near the Kentish village of Eynsford, the *Gentleman's Magazine* records in 1823 : " Near the north-eastern boundary of the park a tesselated pavement was discovered in the course of the last century and several coins and other relics of Roman occupation were dug up." There on a tree-clad slope above the little River Darent, excavations were begun in the spring of last year on what may well prove to be one of the outstanding villa sites in Britain. Although only a part of the area has been touched, it has already yielded a succession of finds with features that are unique. The bare list of the discoveries is imposing in itself. It includes a mosaic pavement which is in the front rank of Romano-British mosaics, portrait busts of Italian marble, a hoard of unwrought bronze, an underground chamber and an inscribed votive-pot—all these in addition to coins, pottery and bronze ornaments.

The reference in the *Gentleman's Magazine* had long been lost to mind when the site was rediscovered, shortly before the war. It was located by Lieutenant-Colonel G. W. Meates, who is investigating the evidences of the Roman settlement which extended along the bank of the Darent from Otford and Kemsing, north of Sevenoaks, to the Thames at Dartford. Deducing that a villa had stood in the vicinity, he searched at the entrance to Lullingstone Park and, within a few yards, in a hole left by a fallen tree, he found some tesserae.

The excavations soon revealed a complexity of walls and floorings. Gradually it was realized that three successive buildings had occupied much the same site. The original villa, dating from the latter half of the first century, is believed to have been rebuilt and enlarged some fifty years or so later. Apart from other indications, there are traces of coloured wall-plaster of the second century that has been superimposed on a first century fresco. It seems probable that the residential part of these earlier villas still await discovery under the soil and that the remains now on view are chiefly those of the bath-wing and storage rooms, which seem to have served to some extent for both the houses.

However this may be, there is no doubt that a third villa was erected on the spot, possibly after a lengthy interval. The bath-wing

of the previous ones, or at least the greater portion of it, was filled in with rubble and excavated earth for the needs of new building in the fourth century. Practically the only part of this last villa so far uncovered is the great room, fronting eastward on to the river, with its mosaic floor. Estimated by experts to date from between 280 and 300 A.D., the mosaics are peculiarly interesting and not only on account of the beauty of the two inset panels and of their state of preservation. On a higher level of the floor there is a semi-circular panel of Europa being carried across the sea by Jupiter in the form of a bull—the only known instance of this motif in England. Along the top runs the lettering of a jesting couplet alluding to an episode in the *Iliad*. This can be deciphered, except for the one doubtful word, as :

Invida si (tauri) idisset juno natatus
Justius aeolias isset ad usque domus.

The floor beyond the inscription drops down a tesselated step of exceptional length to the main level. Here, in the heart of the mosaics, is a lozenge-shaped panel of Bellerophon killing the Chimaera portrayed with skill and sense of movement. The mosaic is intact except for two holes dug through it for the erection of a deer fence in the eighteenth century, when the pavement was first discovered. One of these post-holes has unfortunately destroyed one of the four conventional heads typifying the four seasons which encircled Bellerophon but, otherwise, the damage is comparatively slight. The artistry of the two panels consorts oddly with the poor workmanship in the surrounding key-pattern and with the jumble of objects—swastikas, hearts, crosses and so on—in the accompanying design. Their relationship forms a puzzle and one inclines to the view that the panels were the work of different hands and were inserted at a later date.

Close to the mosaic floor, on the northern side, is the remarkable underground chamber. Constructed as part of the original house it was furnished at some period with a flight of concrete steps leading up to the ground level and there is the theory that it was open to the river on one side with a water gate. At all events, a fourth wall seems to have been added later, perhaps in the fourth century, while the stairway was filled in except for three steps at the foot On each of these steps was placed a bust, splendidly sculptured, of Carrara marble. One of them, with a pedestal, is claimed as portraying the Emperor Antoninus Pius, a second is unidentified and the third, that of a woman, lacks the head. Since the head has not come to light, the hypothesis is that the busts were found among the ruins of the second century villa by the fourth century builders and that they were then deposited in the basement room, which became some kind of shrine

r sanctuary. In fact one well-known archaeologist is convinced hat the deeply-sunken chamber was actually a Mithraic temple.

Associated with the busts and below the steps were four votive-pots. hey vary considerably in size and in quality. The smallest of them about three-and-a-half inches in height of finely-decorated Rhenish are and it bears the letters *SUAVIS* in six thumb-print impressions. hough very fragile, it is still in almost a perfect state.

Not the least interesting of the finds in the chamber was the keleton of a cat, lying curled up as if the animal had died while sleep. Its presence has caused a good deal of speculation in view f the extreme rarity of cats' bones near Roman sites. It is believed hat mice were unknown in this country before the time of the occupa- on —they appear, like the cats, to have been brought in Roman hips—and it may be that a cat in a Romano-British household was ept solely as an uncommon and valuable pet.

Fragments of charcoal and charred wood provide abundant proof hat the final villa was destroyed by fire. The mosaics have been corched and in the basement room there was not only a charred piece f rafter lying under a roof tile but, also fallen from above, there was calcined beam more than three feet in length and nearly one foot in hickness.

On the south side of the mosaic pavement several curious dis- overies of different kinds have been made in a small area. The oncrete flooring of one room had been broken through in the fourth entury to form a deep cavity in which a large amphora had been laid bliquely and wedged in place with three pieces of a broken plate. Vhen found it contained about twenty coins of Constantine, the ones of a trout, a bronze ornament in the shape of a lion's head and considerable number of oyster shells.

A few feet away, under the same floor but in a place where it had ot been disturbed, was a bronze fibula with a hinged pin, lying in the urface of the natural clay as if it had been dropped during the build- ng operations. It is one of a collection of several bronze articles, hich includes another brooch, two bangles and a curved needle ith an eye and a triangular point. Eighty coins, nearly all onstantinian, have been found scattered about the site.

Adjoining the floor is a wall with a smooth cement top, which till bears the stud-marks of Roman sandals. There is a series of mpressions, obviously from the feet of two persons who had walked ack and forth on the concrete before it was dry. Incidentally, no ewer than four pieces of tile have been found, each showing a clear mprint of a dog's paw. The size of the paw-marks and the depth of he claws suggest that they were made by a running dog of a medium reed though there was probably more than one culprit.

The bronze castings, which are believed to be the largest of their

kind yet found in Britain, were buried in the soil beneath the soli concrete of another floor in the same vicinity. Four heavy rectangula ingots, each of them about fifteen inches in length, five inches in widt and one-and-a-half inches thick, supported a disc-shaped sheet c bronze, some eighteen inches in diameter. All of them, the ingots an the disc, are of unworked raw material and, as they have traces c sand adhering to their surfaces, they may have been cast locally. I association with them was yet another votive-pot. The odd featur about them is that they appear to have been deliberately hidden a some depth.

The hypocaust system which heated one or two of th bath-chambers has been traced for a large part of its course and th actual site of the furnace has been uncovered below an accumulatio of white ash. The concrete base of the furnace is pierced with fiv circular holes that presumably formed the sockets for the meta uprights of the fire-bars. It would seem from various evidence tha the hypocaust was in use not only in the two earlier villas but also i the fourth century one for, at any rate, some part of the period.

An enormous number of pieces of decorated wall-plaster, brightl painted in a wide range of colours, has been found scattered over th site. Most of these fragments show scroll-work or frette designs but there are also portions of human figures and one piec has an unmistakable bird perched on a twig. An attempt is bein made on the laborious task of piecing them together so far as possible. In addition to the fallen pieces some plaster was still i place on a wall of the basement room, painted with two bunches c grapes on a vine.

The limits of the site, or at least the limits of the main building are known only on the western side, backing on to the hill. Th walls clearly extend in the other three directions for distances that ca merely be guessed at present. On the river frontage they are overlai by a metalled roadway, under which runs a sewer ; raising problem that, if not insuperable, are at any rate difficult.

The chief interest, however, lies to the northward, where th remainder of the fourth century villa and perhaps some relics of th earlier ones are believed to be. It would not be surprising if th present mosaic floor should prove to be linked with one or two smalle mosaics that may now lie hidden under the grass and the trees. Th pavement, with some of the material for its tesserae imported fro Italy and from France to contrast with the local stone, would see to be too finely executed to have been laid in solitary grandeur one would expect the house it served to decorate to have been c notable size and importance. There is an unhappy doubt, neverth less, as to the amount of damage that may have been caused to th unexplored parts by the medieval plough. Europa and Bellerophc

y perilously near to the surface in the Middle Ages even though the ll-wash has been adding to their covering through the centuries. he tesselated area of the pavement, shallow as it must have been, as been scored in one or two places by a ploughshare which inciden-lly turned in a coin of Edward II's reign and so helped to establish ie date.

What may conceivably have protected some of the area is the resence of the ruins of a lost church. Until the fifteenth century iere were separate parishes of Lullingstone and Lullingstane but, ter the depopulation due to the Black Death, they were united and ie Lullingstane church was allowed to decay. Early records speak the church as having been built largely of Roman materials and a venteenth century map places it on the exact spot of last season's xcavations. Even if the mapmakers were a little careless, it can arcely have been far away and there is every possibility that it may ave stood on Roman foundations. Should this prove to be the case, iere will obviously be problems of several kinds to be faced.

These, however, are matters for the future. In spite of the range the discoveries that have already been made, the work is hardly ore than in its initial stages. It is being carried out, wholly on a oluntary basis, by enthusiasts of both sexes and of all ages, some of hom have been travelling considerable distances in order to take art in the digging in their spare time. Throughout the winter a nall party has been at work on the site preparing in various ways for e coming season. The excavated area was cleared of its protective overings towards the end of March. It was found that the walls and oorings—especially the mosaics—had suffered no harm from eather. The site was re-opened to the public on April 1 and on that ate new excavations were begun, chiefly to the south but also ljoining the mosaic floor. Whether it will be feasible to extend the gging northward will depend on the amount of volunteer labour id on weather conditions. Much lies ahead, for it is anticipated by ieutenant-Colonel Meates that the excavations will not be completed less than another three or four years The prospect may appear to e formidable but, if the results of the last season afford any guide, iere should be ample recompense.

The author, an amateur archaeologist who has excavated sites in her parts of the country, has spent much spare time in digging at Lullingstone.)

THE THREEFOLD WORK OF MARTIN BUBER

By Helen Wodehouse

I.

PROFESSOR Martin Buber's latest book* is a sympatheti review of socialist writings and experiments which Marx after some wavering, condemned as 'Utopian'. Thei authors were men who set their hopes on human thought and wi rather than on the vast mechanical forces on which Marx relied and they pictured a society renewed from the bottom upwards wit a new tissue of living cells, rather than one remodelled by the powe of the State. "To the question of the elements of social re-structure a fateful question indeed, Marx and Engels never gave a positiv answer, because they had no inner relation to this idea. Mar might occasionally allude to "the elements of the new society whic have already developed in the womb of the collapsing bourgeoi society" and which the Revolution had only "to set free"; but h could not make up his mind to foster these elements, to promote ther and sponsor them. The political act of revolution remained th one thing worth striving for."

Hence, Martin Buber holds, the Marxian movement has misse elements of prophecy in which guidance might have been found Granted that some 'Utopian' writing is little more than deductiv fiction, yet other parts show genuine empirical study, aimed a finding and cherishing now what is fitted to enrich the society o tomorrow. Saint-Simon and Fourier to some extent, but mor especially Owen and Proudhon, Kropotkin and Gustav Landaue saw truths that the Marxians have neglected. Similarly the Marxi movement has neglected the values attained in the co-operatives o England and France, in the Russian village community and the *artel* and, in our own day, it has progressively distorted and destroyed th tremendous possibilities latent in the network of Soviets, springin up spontaneously from below in response to the actual needs of th time. Lenin and Marshal Stalin recognized their importance indeed but only as means to an end; only as weapons for driving the Revolution forward. "One cannot in the nature of things," say Professor Buber, "expect a little tree that has been turned into club to put forth leaves."

* *Paths in Utopia*, by Martin Buber. Translated by R. F. C. Hull. *Routledge & Kegan Paul*. 1

But such willed and decentralizing growths are essential. It is not hese but the centralized State power that is only a temporary means. The experiments may often have failed, but the final chapter of this ook is concerned with what the author calls " a signal non-failure " ; he Jewish village communities in contemporary Palestine. From is present position in the Hebrew University Professor Buber vatches these new small societies, so varied in form yet kindred in pirit, each bringing its own contribution to the new life of a nation, vithin that Zionist movement to whose service he has given so much f his long working life. At the same time, sensitive to all promise nd aware of all danger, he can watch within them precisely the ubject-matter of his special studies in moral philosophy. " Forms f organization are useless and empty," we say glibly, " without the pirit within." But what is that spirit ? How is it to be analysed r described ? Martin Buber's obstinate effort to think clearly on he subject, and to convey his thoughts to us, runs through all his ooks, including this one.

> The primary aspiration of all history is a genuine community of human beings—genuine because it is *community all through*. A community that failed to base itself on the actual and communal life of big and little groups living and working together, and on their mutual relationships, would be fictitious and counterfeit. . . . The idea of community must be guarded against all contamination by sentimentality or emotionalism. . . . Community is the inner disposition or constitution of a life in common, which knows and embraces in itself hard ' calculation ', adverse ' chance ', the sudden access of ' anxiety '. It is community of tribulation and only because of that community of spirit ; community of toil and only because of that community of salvation.

His final pages touch on the special difficulty arising within the ommunes since, under the pressure of world crisis, they have had to eal with the flood of immigration and absorb a new and different ind of human material.

> The point where the problem emerges is neither the individual's relationship to the idea nor his relationship to the community nor yet to work. . . . The point . . . where people are apt to slip, is in their relationship to their fellows. . . . It is not a matter of intimacy at all ; this appears where it must, and if it is lacking, that's all there is to it. The question is rather one of openness. A real community need not consist of people who are perpetually together ; but it must consist of people who, precisely because they are comrades, have mutual access to one another and are ready for one another.

To sum up :

> I have said that I see in this bold Jewish undertaking a ' signal non-failure '. I cannot say : a signal success. To become that, much has still to be done. Yet it is in this way, in this kind of tempo, with such set-backs, disappointments, and new ventures, that the real changes are accomplished in this our mortal world. . . . We must designate one of the two poles of Socialism between which our choice lies, by the formidable name of ' Moscow '. The other, I would make bold to call ' Jerusalem '.

II.

Behind this study of man in society there lies the sequence o Professor Buber's most technically philosophical and meditative works; represented specially by *Daniel* (1913), *I and Thou* (1923)* *Dialogue* (1929), *The Question to the Single One* (1936), and *What i Man* (1938). They might be called metaphysical, if we accepte the definition of metaphysics as " an unusually obstinate attempt t think clearly." But some difficult thoughts take shape most readil in poetry, and both *Daniel* and *I and Thou* tend to become pros poems, sometimes lyrical, sometimes gnomic and oracular. I other parts a certain monotony of style makes it hard for the reade to keep his attention fixed, yet every now and then the meanin glows again through some illuminating and memorable phrase.

The theme to which they all return I would describe as that o creative comradeship. It is easy (Martin Buber suggests in *I an Thou*), and largely unavoidable, to spend our time in dealing fro the surface of ourselves with the surface of men and things ; t treat men and things alike as objects to be moved about in a saf commonplace world. " You cannot hold on to life without it, it reliability sustains you ; but should you die in it, your grave woul be in nothingness." To know reality, we must say not only ' it ' bu ' thou '. We must be ready to meet it face to face, with the whol of our being and with an open heart. The act is plainest in ou dealings with men, but it is not confined to these. The baby' hands grope after relationship until they win from a woolly Teddy-bea " its precise form, apparent to the senses, and become lovingly an unforgettably aware of a complete body . . . It is simply not th case that the child first perceives an object, then, as it were, put himself in relation with it. But the effort to establish relatio comes first—the hand of the child arched out so that what is ove against him may nestle under it ; second is the actual relation, saying of *Thou* without words." The nature-lover can say Thou to tree or a rose, " and the friendship of the elements accompanie the man into the stillness of dying and becoming." The artist o the poet

> is faced by a form which desires to be made by him into a work. This form is n offspring of his soul, but is an appearance which steps up to it and demands of the effective power. The man is concerned with an act of his being. If he carri it through, if he speaks the primary word out of his being to the form which appea then the effective power streams out, and the work arises. . . . Through th meeting that which confronts me is fulfilled, and enters the world of things. . . .

So likewise, we may add, thinking of paths in Utopia, a yout

*Translated by Ronald Gregor Smith. T. & T. Clark (Edinburgh) 1937. The three which follo are included in *Between Man and Man* (same translator) published by Kegan Paul, 194 *Daniel* has not been translated.

a statesman may respond with his whole being not only to some uman comrade but to the beloved community itself which is seeking be born. And in both cases "Love is responsibility of an *I* for *Thou*."

This is life in the spirit ; spirit not shut inside us but around us nd " between " ; " not like the blood that circulates in you but ke the air in which you breathe." In one of his early works Professor uber coined the word *Zwischenmenschlichkeit* for the subject-matter f economics and sociology—the network of relationship which ins, encloses, and upholds. With a most serviceable originality e has carried forward and developed this thought of an enclosing nd uniting sphere. In and through this we meet the oneness of the eternal Thou ' speaking through every particular Thou to the man ho will respond. In so far as we make room for the flow of grace, e can meet every person, every task, every event, as a comrade. We do not find meaning lying in things nor do we put it into things, ut between us and things it can happen.*

III.

> Good and evil . . . cannot be a pair of opposites like right and left or above and beneath. ' Good ' is the movement in the direction of home, ' evil ' is the aimless whirl of human potentialities without which nothing can be achieved and by which, if they take no direction but remain trapped in themselves, everything goes awry. . . . As a condition of the individual soul evil is the convulsive shirking of direction, of the total orientation of the soul by which it stands up to personal responsibility before God. . . . The passionate man refuses by his passion, the indolent man by his indolence. . . . The real historial daemonias are the exploiting by historical powers of this shirking.
>
> The body politic . . . seeks, knowingly or unknowingly, to realize in its genuine formations men's turning to one another in the context of creation. The false formations distort but they cannot eliminate the eternal origin.

hese two passages come from *The Question to the Single One*. But eir doctrine is continuous with experiences of Martin Buber's outh and with the third strand of his lifework—his studies of wish religion and especially of the movement known as Hasidism. what follows I paraphrase *Mein Weg zum Chassidismus*, a short say which he published in 1918.

Ever since Maccabean times there have recurrently arisen communities of ' hasids ' or ' pious persons ', who sought to build the ily life of men on the foundation of divine truth. The one we e concerned with arose from the teaching, in the mid-eighteenth ntury, of Israel ben Elieser, called Baal-Schem (Master of the ame). It had a brief time of bloom, rich in memorable personalities, fore it degenerated, and even up to our own day it has been widepread amongst the Jews of eastern Europe. Its central doctrine

* *Dialogue*, p. 36. The other quotations in this section are taken from *I and Thou*.

can be summed up briefly : God is to be seen in everything and to b reached through every pure action. Everything is a shell, a vessel for some spark of divinity, which the man who meets it in purity an devotion can release and send home. The whole world is a wor from the mouth of God, and salvation lies not in forsaking the worl but in sanctifying it ; serving God joyously in eating and drinkin and labouring, in family life and community life.

Martin Buber came in early childhood from Vienna, his birthplace to be brought up by grandparents in Galicia, and spent every summe near a little town which was the seat of a dynasty of Hasidist Rabbis The tradition had long been in decay ; the synagogue's congregatio was ignorant and superstitious ; yet in the strange convulsed wor shippers the child seemed with a child's eyes to discern what community was, and in the Zaddik passing through the throng o postulants, to discern what a leader was ; the one based on a commo reverence and a common joy ; the other, even at the lowest, standin for the Helper, for the man complete. " Here was somethin ancient and immortal ; lost, abased, yet ever returning."

There followed, in boyhood and youth, years of alienation no only from the Hasidists but from Judaism as a whole. Then cam the touch of Zionism, transforming life by bringing the lad bac into that human relationship and continuity so sorely needed b youth adrift, and needed above all by the fatherlandless Jew. Fo Martin Buber this was " no bounded haven but the way into the ope sea." Henceforth, he felt, he must study what his people ha handed down, and study it not merely as an anthropologist o historian from without but as an Israelite from within. He mus learn to know Judaism as its creators knew it. So the young ma learnt his forgotten Hebrew over again, and " read and read " winning his way gradually through much poor shapeless matter t the soul behind. Memories out of childhood came back to illu minate it, and at 26 he withdrew for five years from journalism an public speaking and all the active work of the Zionist party, into th silent business of collecting material and burying himself therein editing, translating or paraphrasing, and beginning the series o publications connected with Judaism and Hasidism, some directe specially to scholars but many to the laity, which for more than 4 years have accompanied the other lines of work which we hav traced*. The Zionist Professor who at 68 published *Paths in Utopi* and the philosopher poet who at 45 published *I and Thou* in Germany

* Few of these publications have been translated into English, at any rate within the Britis Commonwealth. But a selection in English has been published by Lucy Cohen under the title *Jewish Mysticism and the Legends of Baalshem* (J. M. Dent, 1931) ; and several essays are translate by Dr. Greta Hort in *Mamre* (Melbourne University Press, 1946). For readers who can enjo simple and beautiful German I would recommend beginning if possible with Martin Buber's charmin booklet *Hundert Chassidische Geschichten* (Schocken Verlag, Berlin, 1933).

unite in the scholar who has known a religion "as its creators knew it" and who, amongst other things has collaborated in a new translation of the Hebrew Bible. And all three have grown from the little boy who once watched the Zaddik with his flock in Sadagora, and stared at the Hasids dancing with the Book of the Law.

IV.

Dr. Greta Hort remarks in her introduction to *Mamre* that "the English language lacks a word for the type of literature which in German is described by the word '*populär*'. . . . We do not possess many men who out of their learning give the laity of their best, men who undergo the discipline and drudgery of research . . . in order to communicate the best of which they are capable to the general public. If a specialist (in Britain) writes for the general public, his writing is incidental to the greater part of his work, and the presumption is that it does not contain anything which merits the serious attention of other specialists; we have '*Professoren und Pastoren*' but few '*Lehrer*'." With no derogation from his work either as professor or as pastor, we may say that Martin Buber has been pre-eminently a teacher. He has never set easy tasks to his unspecialized readers; he has required their full attention; but, without compromise, he has done his very best to enable them to read with understanding. He has published comparatively small books rather than large volumes, and has included many essays and lectures; forms whose characteristic danger is the opening they give for gaseousness and self-repetition. I do not believe that this danger has anywhere overcome him. Whether he is thinking of political systems, or wrestling with a mystical experience, or addressing an audience of school teachers, or commenting on Kierkegaard or Spinoza, he seems to me always to be grappling with something fresh and solid, difficult and important, and trying to get it across. When he returns repeatedly to the same subject, one can feel working the double motive of the teacher: "Try looking at it this way" and "I believe that now I have seen it better and can make it clearer." We may grant, as he might grant himself, that all his subjects have been facets of one great subject, "men's turning to one another" (and to the creatures, and to the universe, and to God) "in the context of creation." In *Between Man and Man* he says:

> Kant's question *What is man*? . . . can never be answered on the basis of a consideration of the human person as such, but (so far as an answer is possible at all) only on the basis of a consideration of it in the wholeness of its essential relations to what is. Only the man who realizes in his whole life with his whole being the relations possible to him helps us to know man truly. And since . . . the depths

of the question about man's being are revealed only to the man who has become solitary, the way to the answer lies through the man who overcomes his solitude without forfeiting its questioning power.

That may be the most appropriate final comment upon Martin Buber's teachership.

(*Dr. Helen Wodehouse is the author of* One Kind of Religion *and was Mistress of Girton College, Cambridge.*)

SNOWFALL IN MAY

By A. V. Stuart

A fantasy of snow
Fluttering softly to the lawn below !
It is the cherry tree whose petals rain
In mimicry of winter : a tree so high
That the delicate drift of flakes seems from the sky,
This boon sky of mid-May.
See, once again
In the light breeze the branches stir and sway,
Softly discharging to the sward below
Their mimicry of snow.

The daisies, with their innocent eyes,
Look up in mild surprise.
They star the lawn with white : this heaps it over
With its pure billowy cover.
Spring, the sweet witch, has stolen, in swift caprice,
Winter's loveliest device,
And laughs, mid song and sunshine, to cheat our eyes
With her snowy fantasies.

TREASURE-TROVE

By Lord Gorell

I.

Poor am I, aging, fameless, and oppressed
By the recurrent burdens of Mankind
Breeding like carrioned maggots—but I glow
With such a passion of unconquerable zest
At all the infinite beauty that I find
By Nature, master-architect, designed
Everywhere, everywhere my glances go
That no man in his leaping heart can seize
A richer treasure-trove : light-foot, it strays
From clouds and colours, hills and birds and trees,
From all the varied wealth of earthly ways
Beyond enumeration, beyond praise.

II.

There is the fervour of wild magic's wings
About the wind's mad rush and a caress
Within its quiet breathing like the sense
Of lover's hand regained : the ocean flings
Great bursts of music and even motionless,
Asleep in the arms of Summer's gentleness,
Is all a glory and a gift intense.
O if the sentient mind of Man could raise
His heart to Heaven, flooding eye and ear
With the world's beauty, and be steeped in praise,
How rich-apparelled all Life would appear
And shrouded lie the wormy ghouls of Fear !

EDWARD LEAR, POET

By J. T. Brockway

HE, himself, might have been the first to object to the title, insisting instead on what he regarded as the more august appellation of landscape painter. Yet poet he is, and you have only to turn to that diminutive and delightful book, *The Collected Nonsense Songs of Edward Lear*,* for the evidence. You can go to it expecting to be amused and enchanted once again by nonsense rhymes, but you will need to have the soul of a pedant and a dullard's ear, if you are not to come under a far more subtle spell. If you do not instead discover poetry.

How is it possible to make poetry out of a Yonghy-Bonghy-Bò and a Dong with a Luminous Nose ? That is a question worth asking for if you can answer it you will have learnt something not only about Edward Lear, but about the nature of poetry as well.

The rhymes are all about an owl and a pussy cat who sailed away for a year and a day, married in the land where the Bong Tree grows and danced by the light of the moon. About a chair and a table who although they were not able, went out for a walk, lost their bearings and were eventually led safely back home by the friendly intervention of a duck, a mouse and a beetle. About the unpredictable Jumblies as irrational in their behaviour as the contemporary world, but with how utterly different, how ineffably happier an irrationality. About that haunting, haunted and melancholy creature, the Dong, who nightly illuminated the forest with his nose. About the Yonghy-Bonghy-Bò and his unlucky love for that unhappy lady, the Lady Jingly Jones on her little heap of stones, surrounded by early pumpkin flowers and Dorking hens.

Fantastic nonsense ? Not a bit of it ! There is not a landscape, not a figure, a gesture, an event, which is not relevant to the human situation, which does not conjure up a reflection on our human fate. And although we laugh quietly at the delicious absurdities and are constantly ravished by the felicity of invention, rhythm and rhyme, the enchantment and the ultimate satisfaction we experience do not, after all, come from our amusement, but from a very different emotion. Lear's subject is not comedy, but tragedy. Tragedy thinly and charmingly disguised—but never wholly obscured—by an original

* Crown Classics: The Grey Walls Press.

gift of whimsicality and a highly individual sense of the humorous-fantastic. Lear is almost the tragic clown. He moves us to laughter and at the same time magically, by the same means, towards tears. Yet it is a very quiet, subdued clown, free from all acerbity and innocent of the maudlin and the sentimental. For the comedy the clown mixes with his tragedy, Lear substitutes his own inimitable brand of fantasy ; his verses are never comic. In a rawer environment, an age other than the Victorian, deprived of material comforts and a reasonable measure of social security, Edward Lear might have resembled that other clown, the fool of that other Lear on the heath. The tragic touch, the tender whimsicality are both there ; but the knife-sharp wit, the acute comment on man's weaknesses, are lacking. With him tragedy is always leavened by fantasy—and by what is, perhaps, his most significant, most characteristic trait, a universal, never faltering gentleness of spirit. Add innocence, which is another aspect of that same gentleness, and you have the three main ingredients of the magic and the poetry of Edward Lear. Tragedy, gentleness and innocence. All three are unmistakably communicated not only by the songs themselves, but also by the illustrations he made to accompany them.

Surely, you may say, it is his technical facility that is so magical, so unique in his verse. I do not think that the magic and the poetry lie in the technique—though many a serious poet could well be proud of an equal mastery. Others have possessed a comparable talent. W. S. Gilbert was, perhaps, even more ingenious, though always less subtle. But Gilbert rarely, if ever, achieved poetry, and the spirit of his verses is quite antithetical to the spirit of Lear's ; is harshly satirical and often savage to the point of sadism.

I do not think that the magic lies in the fantasy either. An owl and a pussy cat at sea in a pea-green boat with a pot of honey and plenty of money wrapped up in a five pound note ! Isn't there magic in the sheer inventive fantasy of that ? It is undeniable. Yet the true magic lies, I would suggest, not in the fantasy, pure and simple, but in its connotation of gentleness. Lewis Carroll's fantasies are as bizarre and even more elaborate. Yet they lack Lear's magic because they entirely lack Lear's tenderness of spirit. There are no ' Off with his heads ! ' in Lear. Violence seldom occurs and when it does, in the form of the Cummerbund and Mr. Discobbolos's dynamite, it is always tempered by the innocent absurdity of the fantasy. That fantasy is free from Carroll's enormity. There is something repellently grotesque in the Mad Hatter, the White Queen, the Duchess ; even in the Cheshire Cat—and especially in the elongation of Alice's neck. These phenomena belong to the land of night, of incipient nightmare, while Lear's creatures belong to a daydream world, awakening in us, not fear, but pity and compassion.

The nose of the Dong, unlike Alice's neck, is no deformity of the human organ, but a false nose, a contraption tied on with cords with bows at the back of the head ; it is even more innocent than the false nose of the circus clown with its lingering suggestion of the horrific. This difference is, I think, highly significant and is confirmed by a comparison of Lear's illustrations to his own verses with those of Sir John Tenniel to *Alice*. Tenniel has something of the grotesque horror of Da Vinci's caricatures. But look at Lear's Sage taking his " certain aim " at the bald heads of the two old bachelors and you will remark at once the almost loving gentleness with which that devastating blow was delivered. Lear's fantasy is innocent of horror and of the mere suggestion of it ; while, in Carroll, it is the grotesque, which bordering on the horrific, simultaneously fascinates and frightens the child, exerting on it the same ambivalent spell as the witch and the ogre do. Thus it is that *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* appeal to the child and to what remains of the child in the adult whereas Lear's *Nonsense Songs*, limited in their appeal to the child, appeal to what is mature in the adult. His innocence is far from the innocence of the child. It is of a kind that gathers its force from our lack of it, appealing, therefore, with a powerful nostalgia, especially to those who in a disingenuous world, have lost their innocence.

An examination of the events recorded in the *Nonsense Songs* will give us a clearer idea of the nature of this innocence which we have lost. Through them all runs a very remarkable theme. It is of the companionship between creatures—not reconciliation, because hostility between them is never presupposed, never contemplated. Diverse animals, birds, insects, men and women and inanimate objects are bound together in Lear's world by a natural inclination to comradeship and mutual co-operation. In this world an owl and a cat are no longer foes, but companions, fellow voyagers who eventually unite in matrimony. The primeval conflict between fur and feather is never for a moment contemplated. Companionship and mutual assistance replace hostility and appetite. The kangaroo takes the duck ariding on his tail. The obliging turtle " with a sad, primaeval motion," conveys the Yonghy-Bonghy-Bo to the sunset isles of Boshen. The Quangle Wangle, without so much as a murmur, accords accommodation to a whole menagerie of the fantastic—and " all were as happy as happy could be." Messrs Poker and Tongs go out riding with the Misses Shovel and Broom Mr. Daddy Long-Legs and Mr. Floppy Fly, fellows in misfortune join together and set sail for the great Gromboolian Plain. The Jumblies, whether at sea in their sieve, or ashore in the land of the Chankly Bore, are a happy family. The pig surrenders his ring for a mere shilling ; and the Lady Jingly Jones, although unable to offe

er hand, reveals her innate generosity of heart by a polite offer of nree Dorking hens. Not one of these beings is proud, bustling bout, filled with his own importance like some of Carroll's creatures. None stands up and says: 'What a fine fellow I am !' Instead all are lessed with an abounding humility. And humility, service, self urrender and co-operation are the virtues of the mature, are foreign o the child and the child-minded. It is this which makes the fantasy n Lear mature and gives it its adult relevance.

On the rare occasions when violence is contemplated, as, for instance vhen the two old bachelors propose to cut the Sage into little bits and nix him with the stuffing, it is transformed by the innocence of the antasy (in this case the play on the word 'sage') into something uite harmless ; we feel from the outset that Lear will never allow is Sage to be so outrageously manhandled. And even when iolence does actually occur, it has no esoteric significance : there is o ulterior reason for psychologists to fathom in Mr. Discobbolos's udden murder of his family, or in the fate which befalls the anony- nous and beautiful victim of the Indian Cummerbund. The verse, self, never becomes grim. For these reasons I think that it is not n the fantasy, *per se*, but in the nature of the fantasy, at once gentle, nnocent and mature, that Lear's magic and his poetry lie. But not ntirely. There is still another ingredient. To innocence and entleness of spirit is added the magical stuff of tragedy.

All Lear's creatures inhabit a curiously silent, lonely and un- eopled world. We feel that the moonlit sea on which the owl and ne pussy cat set sail is some lonely, forgotten sea. The hills and reams of the Chankly Bore a forlorn landscape. The Great romboolian Plain a desert. His landscape is wholly in period. It the world of his fellow romantics, the landscape painters of the nid-nineteenth century ; of Samuel Palmer and especially of Francis anby. It has Danby's romantic extravagance, his melancholy, and is deserted air. Look, for instance, at Danby's "The Enchanted le" in the Victoria and Albert Museum, with Calypso grieving her st lover, and you will see a world in which the Dong could plausibly ave roamed. Though Lear's landscapes are relieved, of course, y a touch foreign to the nineteenth century romantics—by a whimsical umour. In his lands you are always coming upon Bong Trees, wangum Trees, Oblong Oysters and Cranberry Tarts. Yet the elancholy of the romantic landscape is now and then temporarily nrelieved :

> Lonely and wild—all night he goes,—
> The Dong with a luminous Nose !
> And all who watch at the midnight hour,
> From Hall or Terrace, or lofty Tower,
> Cry, as they trace the Meteor bright,

Moving along through the dreary night,
" This is the hour when forth he goes,
The Dong with a luminous nose !
Yonder over the plain he goes ;
' He goes !
' He goes ;
The Dong with a luminous nose ! "

There, the humorous note is almost lost, the Dong become far fro funny. And here, again, the sadness of the romantic picture banishe laughter for a while :

And far away in the twilight sky,
We heard them singing a lessening cry,—
Farther and farther till out of sight,
And we stood alone in the silent night !
Often since, in the nights of June,
We sit on the sand and watch the moon ;—
She has gone to the great Gromboolian plain,
And we probably never shall meet again !
Oft, in the long still nights of June,
We sit on the rocks and watch the moon ;—
——She dwells by the streams of the Chankly Bore,
And we probably never shall see her more

while the use of repetition is masterly in creating an effect of melan choly desolation.

The very names Lear finds for his lands of fantasy are redolen with the extravagance and melancholy of the romantics : the grea Gromboolian Plain, the land of the Chankly Bore, the sunset isles o Boshen. What are these sunset isles but that undiscovered countr from whose bourn no traveller returns ? From these fantasti lands it is the Jumblies alone who ever return. The others go t dance by the light of the moon or to play games of "battlecock an shuttledore " until Doomsday. Too many of them are never hear of again. They are travellers seeking an escape from this world from its private sorrows : " legs too short, and legs too long," an from its boredom : " Must we drag on this stupid existence fo ever ? " But the moonlit lands for which they set sail, though the offer peace and an unworldly serenity, cannot give true happiness. is those who stay at home, round the hearth, or in the Quangl Wangle's hat, who are as happy as happy could be. The others ar lonely—even in companionship.

What is the pig doing there alone in the middle of the wood ? Th turkey on top of the hill ? Lady Jingly Jones on her little heap o stones ? Is that dance of the owl and the pussy cat really a dance o joy, a wedding dance ? Or is it not rather transformed by Lear' moonlight into something lonely and unfathomably pathetic ? Th Dong with a luminous nose roams a deserted forest for ever, vainl seeking the one he will never find. The Yonghy-Bonghy-Bò sai

way on the turtle's back and leaves the Lady Jingly Jones deserted y her Mr. Handel Jones Esq. and Co. The two old bachelors live lone in a house as empty as Mother Hubbard's cupboard and they, oo, finally disappear never to be heard of again.

Thus we see that the scene and the note of Lear's tragedy is loneliess. It is only rarely that it is specifically and deliberately stated, et it is everywhere, creeping in, unobtrusively but inevitably, even nto scenes of domestic bliss. Mr. and Mrs. Discobbolos are very olated and alone on top of their wall. Mr. and Mrs. Spikky parrow alone in their bird world. You will find this trait everyhere and in the most unlikely places. He will start off lightheartedly ith :

Calico Pie,
The Little Birds fly . . .

ut the final note is always :

They never came back !
They never came back !
They never came back to me !

In the Yonghy-Bonghy-Bò and the Dong, where the tragedy is less isguised and more intimately related to Lear's own personal tragedy, assumes a new poignancy. But even here it is still veiled by umour and fantasy and this very veiling of the tragedy inherent in his ork keeps it latent. It gains thus enormously in suggestive and vocative power. It is, after all, the latent that is the magical in oetry, that *is* the poetry, just as it is the latent in a human being hich constitutes personality. Because it is involuntary and unelfconscious, we know that the tragedy which everywhere pervades he *Nonsense Songs* is genuine ; that it is the inevitable projection f Lear himself. This it is which completes the magic of Lear, gives hese songs their human significance and sets on them the stamp of enuine, enduring poetry. T. S. Eliot, a poet as unlike Lear as it is ossible to imagine, has said that what determines the immortality f a poem is its truth to " the permanent in human nature." It is ust this truth which Lear's songs possess. It is this truth which nakes this nonsense sublime.

THE FORTNIGHTLY LIBRARY

THE ESSENCE OF LAW

By Sir Henry Slesser

Pragmatism, in all its aspects, has always had a great attraction for the American mind, and in his latest work* Jerome Frank does not hesitate to apply relativist and subjective conclusions to the problem of the nature of judicial reasoning and the law. As to the latter, he is entirely opposed to the scholastic view, accepted by Blackstone, that there is an eternal law and a natural or, indeed, anything but a local national one, made up, as he thinks, very largely of the personal inclinations and prejudices of the judges. Those jurists (including nearly all American ones except Wendell Holmes) who speak of the judges interpreting a constant code of logical principles are derided as suffering from an "infantile complex"; borrowing from the psychologists, he describes them as seeking subconsciously in the law, a juridical "father". They are guilty of "childish thought ways". The law is regarded thus by all those who uphold the notion of absolute right as a "Father as Judge."

It is perhaps disconcerting to those who mould their ideas on older conceptions of law to find that this work (though only now through the enterprise of Messrs. Stevens, published in England) has been through no less than six editions in America, for, if the views of Mr. Frank be accepted, it would be the end of all appreciation of law as an exact science; in his opinion law is but empirical and subjective.

Thus, in criticizing the methods of judicial reasoning, in its recourse to logic, sociology or ethics, the author, citing other American jurists to the same effect, is of opinion that a judge, in the last resort, derives his conclusions from his personal character and prejudices, working, it seems by a sort of intuition. This subjective method, controlled only by precedent and direct legislative ordinance, and then apparently, imperfectly, he calls a "hunch"; in the word of Judge Hutcheson, an "apologia" for his decision. That a judge, by his decision, will "control the future" is denied, and indeed if succeeding occupants of the bench will, in their turn, "act as poets" Mr. Frank may be right. But whence then comes that certainty which we of the now impugned school were taught to believe was of the essence of true law? Veneration for what was done in the past is now become "rule-fetichism". "Once entrapped by the belief that precedent and principles are the paramount thing in the law, and that uniformity and certainty are of major importance—" a judge may refuse to do justice to the case on trial because he fears that "hard cases make bad laws." And thus, comments the author, "produce" what may be aptly called "injustice according to law." In his opinion the hope of legal certainty is "infantile".

The notion that a jury can correct the pedantry, as Mr. Frank sees it, of judges is also questioned. To begin with, he denies that the jury, in their turn, do not necessarily apply law in finding the facts—here I think he is right. But in any case the notion that while the judge is bound to existing law, the jury can mitigate the severity of its application, a view expressed by Chalmers in all simplicity, means that juries are authorized to misapply the law—an impossible conclusion. Then again, as the author writes: "The decisions of many juries are products of irresponsible caprice and prejudice"

* *Law and the Modern Mind*, by Jerome Frank. Stevens. 25s.

ut, while not pushing the matter too ar, it might be said that Mr. Frank n his demand that judges shall not ollow the ideal of certainty is asking hem to act in a manner not very ifferent from the jury whose activities e scarcely defends. The judicial irections to juries he describes as ritual" and doubts whether the ury pay much attention to them ; they re "exorcising phrases—cabalistic ormulas."

I find this book, and the other many orks which resemble it, disconcerting ; is in harmony with the notion of that ubjectivity of morals which so many odern writers on ethics support. At he end we are left wondering, on the ssumption that law is the intuitive iscovery of judges, whether the most nportant feature may not emerge to e the method by which these creative idicial supermen are appointed. In is view the choice of the particular idge, not so much for his experience, ut on account of his "hunches" ould appear to be the central con-deration.

Despite his denunciation of our infantilism" I am glad to think that w English judges would accept Mr. rank's denial of the certainty of w, or indeed his whole condemnation f juridical principle.

HISTORY OF ENGLAND, by Keith Feiling. *Macmillan.* 30*s.*

Mr. David Ogg, writing of H. A. L. isher's *History of Europe*, remarked at "it was read, and read to the last age, by that large and intelligent iblic which is anxious to know about istory, but is naturally shy of historical anuals." It seems safe to prophecy at Professor Keith Feiling's *History f England* will have something of the me success. Far too much English storical writing of the highest class cently has been for the scholar. It ould be wrong as well as ungrateful criticize the valuable work done in is way, particularly on the medieval period. Without it a book like Mr. Feiling's would have far less sound foundations. But the mantle of Macaulay and Froude as narrative historians—men of stature, in spite of bias—has fallen on few. Usually the popularizers have not been scholars, and the scholars have not been popular.

Mr. Feiling, Chichele Professor of Modern History at Oxford, commands as much authority as any man who is bold enough in these days to take twenty centuries for his province. He is a historian who can write, not a writer with a taste for history. His book runs to over a thousand pages, though half of it is given to the years after 1688—the aim being "to lay the emphasis on the period within which Britain became a great Power."

It might be supposed that the historian of the Tory Party would spoil his work by grinding axes. There are few signs of this except in the last chapter bringing events down to 1938 and even here there is little to complain of. In a moderate apologetic for our foreign policy from 1930-1938 some mention might have been made of Mr. Churchill's criticism of Neville Chamberlain's policy. It is wrong, however, to seize upon a short last chapter in a long work marked by great fairness. There is no sacrificing of Gladstone to Disraeli; Cromwell is rated highly : "upon United Kingdom and Empire, sea-power, toleration, and democracy the mark of the Protector is plain to see." A more weighty ground for criticism lies in the book's comparative neglect of the revolution in thought and in the character of daily life brought about by the growth of science.

It is a fine work for the general reader, and lives up to its claim to be the first modern successor of J. R. Green's *Short History of the English People*. Its style, with its flashes of colour, steps along at a lively pace, and there are no sloughs of dullness and obscure argument. There are moments of restrained eloquence, as in this

passage on the Saxon invaders : " They sang of war, of boar-crested helmets, of nights when the swords flashed ' as if all Finsburg were on fire ', of the linden shield shattered by the ash spear, arrows sleeting like hail, booty and women, of the eagle, wolf, and raven shiftily watching dying men." It is a worthy history of a great nation.

WALTER JAMES.

HUMAN ACTION, by Ludwig von Mises. *Hodge.* 42*s.*

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF ECONOMICS, by Henry Smith. *Sylvan Press.* 10*s.* 6*d.*

Professor von Mises, once of Vienna and now of New York University, has subtitled his bulky volume (880 pages) " a treatise on economics." Whether this is a fitting description of its contents depends on one's definition of the term " economics ". As the reviewer sees it, the book is in reality largely a treatise on the theory of economic knowledge, a sort of Critique of Pure Reason (Economic). Kant's aprioristic categories of human knowledge have a parallel in Mises' categories of human action which, says the author, are " in us ", like logic and mathematics (p. 64).

All this may sound somewhat frightening, but the book, despite its manifest one-sidedness and dogmatism, is highly interesting. Whoever enjoys a well-conducted logical argument will be fascinated, although there will be struggles with the author's Germanic syntax. His erudition no less than his obvious sincerity and conviction command respect, even from one who wholly disagrees with his premisses and his conclusions : the respect, at least, that Renan is said to have shown to the rites of the Church which he had left when, on meeting the Corpus Christi procession in his native Tréguier, he doffed his hat : " *Nous nous saluons,*" he remarked to a friend, " *mais nous ne nous parlons jamais.*"

Professor von Mises is one of the last all-out defenders of capitalism and the private-enterprise economy, an un compromising opponent of interven tionism and, *a fortiori*, of anythin remotely connected with Socialism He writes on p. 850 :

> The truth is that capitalism has not onl multiplied population figures (sic), bu improved the people's standard of living in a unprecedented way. Neither economi thinking nor historical experience sugge that any other social system could be mor beneficial to the masses than capitalism. Th market economy needs no apologists an (sic) propagandists. It can apply to itse Sir Christopher Wren's epitaph in St. Paul's *Si monumentum requiris, circumspice.*

If the author admits that the cause o economic liberalism was harmed b the " almost regular return of feveris booms and of the dramatic breakdow of bull markets followed by lingerin slumps," that was of course due t " policies directed toward a lowerin of the rate of interest by credit expan sion " (p. 441). Indeed, but for inte ventionism, the free market, in whic the price mechanism assures the mos efficient distribution and utilization o the various factors of production, is i his view amply sufficient to make thi " consumers' democracy " work. Un employment other than of the trans tional kind is an " institutional phenomenon also produced by inte ventionist policies.

> A job-seeker who does not want to wait, wi always get a job in the unhampered mark economy in which there is always unuse capacity of natural resources and very ofte also unused capacity of produced factors o production. It is only necessary for hi either to reduce the amount of pay he asking for, or to alter his occupation or h place of work (p. 595).

Only, indeed; it is as simple as tha And all economists since about th 1880's have lived in vain, from those o the German historical school right up t Lord Keynes. Of him it is said that h " did not add any new idea to the bod of inflationist fallacies, a thousand time refuted by economists." From whic one must conclude that Professor vo Mises does not count him among th economists.

If the author's premisses are admitte his reasoning may be logically in

peccable, but it bears no relation to economic life. The difficulties of economics derive precisely from the fact that man, having reached a certain degree of economic development, prefers deliberately to sacrifice the "maximization" of economic satisfaction to non-economic considerations such as greater social justice. It is here that the author fails. It is not enough to refute Marx's theory of value in order to refute Socialism. In any case, to attempt such a refutation, some comprehension of Socialism is necessary. Professor von Mises' shrill extremism in this field is self-defeating.

The *Introduction to the Study of Economics* by the Vice-Principal of Ruskin College, Oxford, contains a quiet and balanced *exposé* of the methods of economic analysis based on the concepts of marginal utility and the Keynesian theory of employment. Although it is called an "introduction", it requires some previous knowledge of economic theory if only because over-condensation, no doubt compelled by lack of space, has made certain passages somewhat difficult to follow. Cases in point are the *rapprochement* attempted by the author, between the Marxian labour theory of value and the marginal theories in this field (pp. 109-117) and some developments on marginal cost, average cost and marginal revenue (pp. 129-130). The patient reader who refers to the Annex on indifference curves to be found at the end of the volume, will however be able to overcome this difficulty with the help of the tools provided by analytical geometry. He will then find the book a useful general survey of first principles.

R. P. SCHWARZ.

BEYOND REALISM & IDEALISM, by Wilbur Marshall Urban. *George Allen & Unwin.* 18*s.*

MY PHILOSOPHY, by Benedetto Croce. *George Allen & Unwin.* 15*s.*

By quickly convincing the reader that a philosophical *dénouement* of the first importance lies only a few pages away Professor Urban makes a notable book also an exciting one. With much dialectical skill and pertinent historical illustration he elaborates the idea, which he first broached a quarter of a century ago and which recurs in many thinkers, of the need for transcending the opposition between realism and idealism as theories of knowledge.

Neither view, he shows, is susceptible of proof or disproof either empirically or logically. Mutual 'refutations' have notoriously been inconclusive. Phoenix-like idealism ever rises from its ashes : realism Anteus-wise renews its strength every time it touches ground. The suggestion that each is the expression of a psychological type—the idealist being the introvert and the realist the extrovert—is specious but unsound. In the last analysis it begs the question.

Beneath the ostensibly empirical and logical arguments propounded for and against idealism and realism Professor Urban distinguishes an evaluation of knowledge in terms of 'cognitive values'. For the realist knowledge is destroyed if its object is not held to be independent of the mind. For the idealist, on the other hand, the value of knowledge is lost if its object is not in some sense mind-dependent. It is these differing cognitive valuations which severally constitute the ultimate 'drive' of idealism and the 'resistance' of realism and explain their perennial opposition.

With the transference of that opposition, however, from the empirical and logical planes to that of cognitive values a way out of the apparent impasse is made possible. Oppositions between values do not necessarily spell irreconcilable contradictions. Viewed from the dialectical standpoint (of which he gives an able exposition and defence) the mutual 'refutations' are seen, Professor Urban argues, as indirect testimonies to an irrefutable and indispensable element in both realism and idealism, a primal epistemological 'intention' persisting amid the numerous transformations which reciprocal criticism has induced and

each embodying a cognitive value or meaning without which genuine knowledge is made void. For as dialectical analysis shows, the denial of either, to be significant, has to presuppose that which is denied. This is self-refuting and therefore *widersinnig*.

" Both realistic and idealistic postulates are necessary to an intelligible theory of knowledge." One gets the impression that the author, in arguing for the necessity of the idealistic postulate, is leaning much more heavily on metaphysical than on strictly epistemological considerations—which serves to indicate, I think, that his latest book cannot stand completely detached from his earlier one ; that his " intelligible theory of knowledge " is so far metaphysical as only to fit comfortably into that ' intelligible world ' of the character of which Professor Urban has elsewhere most ably written.

Signor Croce's volume consists of some 37 essays selected by R. Klibansky and translated by E. F. Carritt. Varying in length from 28 pages to less than one, many of them dated (ranging from 1931 to 1945), they illustrate their author's general philosophical position and his philosophy of politics, ethics, aesthetics, and history.

The essay that provides the title of the volume will confirm and edify the faithful but is hardly likely to make converts. It presupposes too much that is most deeply questioned by the prevailing anti-idealistic philosophy of to-day. It is to the essays devoted to the philosophy of politics that the average English reader will probably turn with greatest sympathy and from which he will derive the most satisfaction. In the five essays expounding the fundamental philosophy of liberty he will find the animating spirit of the credo of liberalism proclaimed with pristine conviction by one of its supreme prophets, ever jealous to preserve it inviolate from confusion with any of its particular manifestations, political, economic, or social. Acute in distinguishing that spirit from temporary and changing expressions, oracular in declaring its abiding essence, have the prophet's ' thus saiths ' the power still to start kindred spirits ? There are many who will say that for Europe to-day, " that is the question."

Those who, after reading the essay " Why We Cannot Help Calling Ourselves Christians ", consider the inclusion of the whole of Signor Croce's works in the *Index Expurgatorius* a lamentable, if futile, piece of benighted clericalism, should not, in fairness, overlook the fact that in his systematic philosophy the sole reality acknowledged by Signor Croce is that of one spirit, wholly immanent in man.

PETER STUBBS.

POEMS FOR SPEAKING : An anthology with an essay on reading aloud, by Richard Church. *Dent.* 7*s.* 6*d.*

CRITICISM AND CREATION, by H. J. C. Grierson. *Chatto & Windus.* 8*s.* 6*d.*

Mr. Church is known to be an ardent supporter of speaking aloud, one who has had a long experience of poetry adjudication, and what he has to say must be taken seriously. His main thesis is the not unfamiliar one that the printing press destroyed the bard (but were Langland or Chaucer bards ?) that poets now write for the printed page alone ; but that there is a revival of interest in speaking aloud, as witness poetry broadcasts, festivals and recitals.

He argues that because we do not hear poetry spoken aloud in public we lose the power to hear-as-we-read ; and that this has led poets to write and the public to read in a stone-deaf condition. What Mr. Church does not say is that speaking or singing ballads to groups of the quite illiterate fulfilled a function entirely different from speaking poems of the complexity of, say, the " Ode to a Nightingale " to an audience of the semi-literate who have access to books before and after, whether they can understand them or not.

Speaking aloud to the illiterate is the only means of publication to them—i

does not imply, in itself, aesthetic pleasure. Mr. Church states that a community without verse-speaking is aesthetically unhealthy, but he does not examine the problems relevant to the speaking of verse in 1950.

His argument that poets ought to return to the simplicity of oral composition is anachronistic, but it agrees with his contention that poets ought to know how to speak their verse in public. Why should they ? Poets are writers ; if they are good they do compose with their inward ears acutely open. For the furtherance of their art there is no need for them to be public performers any more than there is for composers to be concert pianists. If the poet does perform in public he is doing something else, and something utterly different from the performance of the fourteenth century bard. The speaking aloud of poetry is now a specialized and sophisticated affair both to speaker and listener ; it is neither artless nor simple, as Mr. Church knows. He could have spared a paragraph to examine the difference between communicating to an actual audience, speaking aloud, and to a radio audience, reading aloud. But the confusion in Mr. Church's mind is perhaps exemplified by the fact that his essay is called on the cover of his book " on reading aloud," that the burden of the essay is about speaking, yet his final advice to speakers is : "Try to *see* the words as they form and roll out . . ." Surely the ghost of print haunts that advice ?

He does not add to the strength of his argument for a simple visual approach to poetry by commenting on the first verse of Burns's " O my luve's like a red, red rose " that " these lines are diamond-bright. And they *sound* like diamonds." Surely they are warm ; and is not the quality of diamonds to be cold, very hard, and glittering ? And is not the sound of diamonds (if that means anything) nearest to the sound of ice ?

And cannot we have done with the words 'music' and 'musical' to describe poetry ? Words are sounds

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Professor of History in Harvard University, Fellow and Lecturer of Girton College, Cambridge, Vice-President of the Royal Historical Society

It is the author's belief that English government, politics, society and character as we know them today cannot be understood if the centuries of the so-called Middle Ages are left out of account. In this book she hopes to make medieval England relevant and significant to the England of the 1950's.

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AN INTRODUCTION TO ÆSTHETICS

E. F. CARRITT, M.A.

Emeritus Fellow of University College, Oxford, Fellow of the British Academy

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which we may find ugly or beautiful to hear (apart from meaning), but the experience of hearing Robert Donat reading "Venus and Adonis" is not the same either emotionally or intellectually as hearing Schnabel playing a Beethoven sonata.

Mr. Church's selection of poems—aimed at the Pickles public ?—follows well-worn grooves. Would he not have done poetry a far greater service had he listed, like the compilers of the *Weekend Book*, all the poems here which are already available in a hundred other anthologies, and given us instead a more original choice ? (There is one really grave error in proof-reading where the first line of a famous extract from "The Prelude" leaves out three words, thus totally destroying the rhythm, and reads "One summer evening I found". This should give a beginner a sticky start. The title of Robert Frost's poem should be "Mending Wall.") Knowing the wealth of experience that Mr. Church can bring to this subject it must be said that this is a disappointing book.

Professor Grierson's essays maintain their high standard of scholarship and critical insight, the first essay on "Criticism and Creation" and the last upon "Verse Translation" are perhaps the best of a good lot.

PATRIC DICKINSON.

THE MIND OF PROUST: A Detailed Interpretation of *A la Recherche du Temps Perdu.* By F. C. Green. *Cambridge University Press.* 25*s.*

It happens not often, but frequently enough to be recognizable, that the man deemed an idle sycophant and snob produces work of lasting value. When to these imagined traits are added the real handicaps of chronic asthma, and an eccentricity that inverts the natural order of day and night, it is not surprising that Proust, victim of this situation, met a wall of prejudiced scepticism in his lifetime. His letters show that the inverted mode of life was no indulgence but a hard-won compromise with bad health, representing a condition of unstable equilibrium, nervously sustained. The marvel is that he could summon the physical force to produce his masterpiece.

It is easy to forget all this, and to forget how editors and publishers rejected him, now that the Proustian way is a part of Europe's consciousness. Whether superficially or profoundly he has so penetrated the western mind that to-day his followers are indulging memories of times past, family houses, vanished social circles—followers who have never read a word of him but only breathed his fragrance on the air. Others have practised deliberate abstention from his pages, afraid of meeting with an opacity comparable to Henry James's "Old Pretender" period. Beginning at last maybe, they are surprised to find how smoothly, like a web of silk, the work runs through their fingers. The simplicity, however, is deceptive, and Professor Green is not here to enhance that feature, but in a sense to bury it. His volume-by-volume interpretation was never intended as a primer. Rather it is an approach to the ultimate understanding where what seemed a unity becomes more than a duality. The silken threads would knot and tangle now, were it not for expert guidance.

The separating of Marcel, the young man in the picture, from Proust its explorer and presenter, is a relatively simple split. When to this we add the rivalries of imagination and reality, the power of certain simple actions to evoke their remembered parallel in a richer setting, the development of Proust's own outlook as he writes his novel—all this makes for a maze-like wonder. The deep core of the matter seems impalpable, like one of those atoms or asteroids whose invisible presence is inferred by their field of influence. To follow Professor Green in such an analysis as the following is about as far as the average alert reader need hope to go in the appreciation of his *Temps Perdu :*

It is not just the story of Marcel's (or Proust's) progressive efforts to understand and interpret the behaviour and the psychological states of the characters whose lives at every moment impinge upon and intermingle with his own life. It is not merely the narrative of his attempts to endow with the beauty or unity of art, to externalize for us, his sensations or impressions of the material world surrounding him. It is also the story of Marcel's gradual discovery that the self, the *moi* called Marcel which is always striving to penetrate by sympathy and at the same time to perceive by the intellect, the reality of external things and people—that this self is never static, never, as Proust says, *une âme totale*, in the sense that all its powers of imagination, sensation, perception and memory are completely and ever available.

Are we in fact playing croquet with Alice's flamingoes which would always walk away ?

But such criticism is not continuous. Following the entire narrative closely, Professor Green observes events, relationships and characters, grasps at the colouring of a situation, at the thought behind the words that contradict it, or the echo that has changed its timbre with the passage of time. The Verdurins, the Charlus and Morels, the Guermantes, with all their comedies and customs, walk in his pages as they do in the original, only that here they have, as it were, their outer skins off. So they appear more complex on the surface simply because their motives are laid bare. Some features do not readily take a part in Professor Green's interpretative synthesis. For example, comment does not intensify the aesthetic impact of those Combray landscapes—pictures such as the magic of pink hawthorn—enough in itself to inspire the hastier painter of the " School of Proust ". On the other hand, Proust's contention that the homosexual habits of a Charlus may be fused into the harmonious beauty of a work of art is not backed by Professor Green who cannot so easily banish the ethical conscience. For him the moral revulsion from these scenes remains ; to an austere rejecter of all art but the impersonal, Marcel's " *delicieuse girandole d'azure* ", transforming a Medusa, might present no difficulties. Such an attitude was commoner at the time Proust won his popularity than it is to-day. In the long run it will probably be swallowed, like the harshness in Elizabethan drama, as an unescapable feature of the acceptable whole.

This study, if read in conjunction with its subject, contains undoubted richness. It is further coloured by quotations, with Professor Green's translation of the longer passages. A comparison of these with the Scott-Moncrieff classic reveals frequent small divergencies in meaning, and goes to show that so nervous and exact a prose as Proust's, itself seeking ever for the complete accuracy in a fading vision, is and must be the despair of any translator who is not content with a loose approximation.

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IN THE PENAL SETTLEMENT, by Franz Kafka. Translated by Willa and Edwin Muir. *Secker & Warburg* 9*s.* 6*d.*

This is the last volume of the fine translation by which Willa and Edwin Muir have made Kafka part of English literature. A good many of these pieces have been printed in periodicals and elsewhere, but they are now newly translated and sometimes appear under new titles which do not always seem an improvement. The present reviewer, for instance, first became acquainted with Kafka through a rendering of "The Metamorphosis" in *Transition*, and, though the Muirs's version is more felicitous, it seems rather less challenging under its new name of "The Transformation."

In this early piece, the allegory is much more clearly realized than in most of the later works. The thought behind it may be less subtle and less profound, but the story of the clerk who turned into an insect can be read for the sheer excitement of the telling. Every motion of that insect, and every detail of its environment, are visualized with a thoroughness which is often intensely painful. In "Investigations of a Dog" (one of the later stories in which the predicament somewhat resembles that of "The Transformation") the problem of the individual and the community is examined with greater understanding, but the narrative has much less edge. Compared with that vivid and horrible interior in "The Transformation", the picture of the dog-kingdom is left vague and indeterminate, and in whole passages it is only necessary to substitute the word 'man' for that of 'dog' for the allegory to dissolve into metaphysical speculation. The early pieces are often bitter and almost hysterical, but they give the fancy more room to move.

Kafka's conception of the human paradox (the total demand of the law set against the infinite incapacity of man) was closely linked with his own personal problem. First of all, as is well known, he felt a misfit in his own family, and an exile from the community of men. And again, as a sentient creature, he felt displaced, inconsistent, in the world of irrational nature and of dead matter. Quite apart from the difficulties of family and race, duty and religion, he was at a loss among natural phenomena. He could not quite trust the road on which he put his foot, nor be quite sure how a stone or a bird would behave. It is this which accounts for much of the comedy in his work (for instance, the extraordinary muddle of stairs and attics and beds and buckets through which K. is continually having to struggle in *The Trail*), and it led also to a certain asceticism which was in part a repudiation of life. As he grew older he became more at home in the world of *things* and renounced (or at least criticized) his asceticism in two of the most delightful stories in this volume—"First Sorrow" (which is about a trapeze artist) and "A Fasting Showman." But as he moved towards a partial acceptance of life, Kafka's imagination lost something of its sharpness; his problem became less urgent to him as he understood it more. This volume, spreading as it does across the whole of his creative period, helps us to see him, as it were, in his own perspective.

NORMAN NICHOLSON.

THE BOAT, by L. P. Hartley. *Putnam.* 12*s.* 6*d.*

THE FACTORY, by Vera Panova. Translated from the Russian by Moura Budberg. *Putnam.* 9*s.* 6*d.*

A FEW FLOWERS FOR SHINER, by Richard Llewellyn. *Michael Joseph.* 10*s.* 6*d.*

The stories of many novels run straight and fairly rapidly between firm and sharp-cut banks, but Mr. Hartley's new novel is like some broad river that meanders "slow and pure and deep" through the English wartime countryside. There is a leisurely amplitude about *The Boat*, much practised and civilized writing, with an excellent

variety of ingredients that should make it very popular with those who like a long book, particularly as the many characters are most of them admirably drawn. The portrayal of Mrs. Purbright, the Rector's wife, shows a fine talent.

The hero, Timothy Casson, is a middle-aged bachelor who, after living in Italy, has now rented The Old Rectory, with a pseudo-Gothic boathouse attached, in an English village. He has bought a new boat—symbol both of his spiritual apartness and integrity, later of social revolution—which he intends to use on the river ; but he is opposed in his wish by the gentry, retired soldiers and professional men, who are jealous of their fishing-rights and do not accept him into their society. A feud ensues, which is slowly clarified in his letters to his three friends, Magda, a fashionable communist, Esther and Tyro. Tragedy is latent in the situation, and duly reaches its climax. But the book is a strange mixture of comedy, tragedy, satire and fantasy, the comedy perhaps at its best in the behaviour of the servants, Beatrice and Effie, and the gardener Wimbush. *The Boat* would possibly have been better a hundred pages shorter, and one may doubt whether the various ingredients fuse to an entirely satisfactory whole. Yet the author's serious intention is clear beneath the comedy surface ; nor is the meaning of his symbol, the boat, in question. " It was a death-wish. He couldn't face modern life—he never has faced the self-evident truth that civilization progresses only by disagreement—and the boat was his way out, a symbol of absolute peace. . . ."

In *The Factory* Mme. Panova describes the life in a Russian village dominated by the armament factory. We grow to know quite intimately a group of publicly dedicated Soviet workers, finding them in their semi-private lives to be rather like tender, temperamental, and not unhappily devoted children. The unity of a somewhat formless book is preserved by the warmth of the human link. The story begins during the intense drive and sacrifice, the life-and-death struggle of the historical moment when Russia turned the tables on Germany ; then on to victory and the changing from war production to peacetime production in the factory. The restraint with which suffering and violence are depicted is a relief after the bludgeoning methods of some English novelists.

Though *The Factory* is not propaganda against the west, it is, of course, written from the Soviet point of view. The private lives of these anxious, toiling, at times quite high-spirited Russians are clamped in the grip of the factory organization where the director Listopad, the hero, excellently drawn, is himself controlled by the spider-direction at Moscow. The love of Nonna Sergeevna for Listopad is passionate, but you know that she is an engineer and that their lives will be determined by the Idea. The youngsters, though too old for their years, sometimes break out in childish gay spirits, as when Tolka, in a lovely few pages, plays truant for a day in the country. The book is a microcosm within the greater world of the Soviet Union.

Mr. Llewellyn's *A Few Flowers For Shiner* is disappointing. The scene is set in Italy during the end of the fighting there, and there is much ado about a truck called Rosie. One can admire the realism of the protracted, sardonic army back-chat, the yearning of the men for their girls at home, the misery and boredom and beastliness of war. But this is a product of the ' tough ' school of writing, and there seems to be overmuch self-conscious proletarian bias, also too much that is either boring, sentimental or strained. I could not easily believe in Snowy's incredibly beautiful, enigmatic Princess Castelfalcone, and often the style of the writing, as " the glissant rumours of her laving hands," is unduly tormented.

JOSEPH BRADDOCK.

BOOKS ON THE TABLE

In the construction of these opening lines an undertone of smugness is ill-suppressed. This is due to the contemplation of the " agricultural school " unreservedly idealizing country life and the Catholics the Middle Ages, which gives a scoffing pleasure, and when the linking of Conservatism and Marxism is added, joy is unconfined.

" Good Old Days "

As a brake on the headlong harking back now so popular a pastime, R. C. Churchill's cantankerous and lively DISAGREEMENTS (*Secker & Warburg.* 12*s.* 6*d.*) is spectacularly effective. He believes with William Morris that " the greatest foe to art is luxury " and demolishes the case that culture and aristocracy in Britain must be inseparable. He does not think it possible to over-estimate the cultural significance " of the refusal of our citizens in the distressed areas to fall for the revolutionary bait offered them by the Marxist upper classes." For their saucy claim to lead the workers, Conservative and Communist Parties are alike denounced ; so is Fascism. He shows how cheap it is to pot at the masses, and how hard it is to excuse, for example, the Northcliffe new journalism for " being deliberately vulgar and sensational " and " deliberately unreliable and sketchy on political affairs." To the liberal-minded citizen, always dodging upper and nether millstones, this book will provide a breathing space, a pause in which to tighten the clutch on fundamentals not to be pulverized by current 'isms, and a lighter heart for hope in democracy. Purveyors of catch-phrase and generalization are warned that reading it may pummel them into uneasy consciousness.

One man's philosophy

Another book which has no use for the jellyfish mentality, with or without sting, is SCIENCE, LIFE AND LITERATURE by M. P. Shiel (*Williams & Norgate* 10*s.* 6*d.*). The author, who died in 1947 leaving a considerable body of work as novelist, playwright, poet and critic, has had assembled here by John Gawsworth (who writes an old friend's Foreword) his personal philosophy on such topics as reading, wealth, tolerance, religion, vengeance, time-travelling and panic, with a warning against dictatorial behaviour in his last essay. A sample of his explosive style :—

> Reading, spelling, useful as they are, are no business of the educator, whose job is to educate, not to give useful things in general, only to give two useful things—scepticism and inventiveness : which two things, I repeat, are one thing—WISDOM.

True enough—yet, perversely, sympathy with Shiel in what he calls " caprices of spelling" does not stretch to his rendering of the word "aggressive" close by.

Dr. Johnson and Company

And now for *Dictionary* days, the age of reason, THE AUGUSTAN AGE by John Butt (*Hutchinson's University Library.* 7*s.* 6*d.*). The Professor of English Language and Literature at King's College, Newcastle, has traced the influence of the Restoration, and particularly in Dryden, on the important writers of the first half of the eighteenth century. The work of Addison, Swift, Pope, Thomson, Gray and Johnson is assessed with special reference to the " poetry of the time and, incidentally, the critical theory that supported it." With this forty-third volume, the University Library makes manifest its implications of benefit and pleasure, not merely to students proper but to those disguised as general readers.—— Another series which promised well and continues to excel, is the English Novelists of HOME & VAN THAL (6*s.* each). Two additions are MARIA EDGEWORTH by P. H. Newby and ANTHONY TROLLOPE by Beatrice Curtis Brown. The reading and notice last

onth of Isobel Clarke's biography of Iaria has proved no deterrent to the solute enjoyment of Mr. Newby's ore critical study of her special niche the realms of fiction. When he says :

> Maria struck out and subdued stretches of new territory, the psychology of children, the dignified and humorous mind of the peasant, an impetus for the writing of all regional fiction, for Scott in Scotland, for Fenimore Cooper in America, for Turgenev in Russia

e covers this century's neglect of her ith shame.

he successful novelist

Such blame cannot be laid to its eatment of Anthony Trollope. For hatever reason—black-out, escapism, broadcast serials, he has enjoyed a pularity in the past decade to vie ith his heyday in the 1860's and '70's, hich also coincided with that of ictorianism, personified in the great w middle class for whom he wrote. eatrice Curtis Brown says that for ose who love him now it is enough at he will never fail " to delight with s comedy and acuteness, to stimulate ith his wisdom and experience and to en the heart with his tenderness and derstanding." She concedes that he d prejudices which we cannot share, t in other ways, as in the founding THE FORTNIGHTLY, he showed mself much at home with ideals ll valid. It is understandable that eatrice Curtis Brown's treatment of ollope as novelist should not record is venture into journalism. So aders must go to his *Autobiography* to rn that " the matter on which we re all agreed was freedom of speech." ough he records his defence of fox nting in these columns, and the rialization—begun in the first number of *The Belton Estate*, and his critical ntributions, he does not express any ws about the poetry which THE RTNIGHTLY was in the habit of blishing. Yet Meredith, Swinburne, orris, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, were iting frequently in those early days the paper.

Noble heritage

It is always a delight to see the work of their successors here, gathered into books. Two such are on the table. The first is NO SUMMER SONG (*The Fortune Press.* 6*s.*) by James Brockway —the J.T. who further forward in this issue considers Edward Lear as poet. His nature poems, especially those about flowers—cyclamens, camellias, azaleas and chrysanthemums—are full of lovely turns of phrase, delicate feeling and allusion, and are preferred to some of his more ambitious " portraits " which smack, not stridently but nevertheless, of the pamphleteer. Then he might beware of the too easy rhyme and of the reminiscent metre. The tender little piece " The Girl on the Tram " is marred for one reader because it asks inevitably to be sung to *Aurelia*, the tune of "The Church's one foundation". These are surface faults—the banal word or rhythm by no means indicating in Mr. Brockway the banal mind or heart—and pondering and polish should work a cure. A full, clear lustre is confidently anticipated with the application of a third *p* : Lady Catherine de Bourgh's majestic, " *practise*, Miss Bennet."——Geoffrey Johnson is obviously still following such advice. His latest collection THE IRON HARVEST (*William & Norgate.* 6*s.*) shows a maturity and a certain sinewy strength that was only latent a few years back. His reverence for words, expressed in the cry at the end of the poem of that name :

> Oh ! not to these would I do any wrong :
> They are not least in the bright heaven of song

makes him handle them carefully in such a poem as " Break in Late Summer ".

Tusitala

For Robert Louis Stevenson it was always " the fine song for singing, the rare song to hear." His astonishing fertility and facility, probably reflecting something of the fever-flushed indomitableness of his disease, have become lost to sight in the legendary lure of

his name. As is the way of the cult, he went out of fashion. Attempts have even been made to 'debunk' him but they were not able to explain away his unremitting care for style in the spate of his invention. A reminder comes with THE STEVENSON COMPANION (*Phoenix House*. 10*s*. 6*d*.). This is the happy title of a selection of his stories, essays, travel pieces, poems and the unfinished *Weir of Hermiston*, edited and introduced by John Hampden. Stevenson is due to pass out of the anthology, school text-book phase of his eclipse and this collection, illustrated with discrimination and re-telling the magical story of his life, should hasten the process.

The author of "Boule de Suif"

It is not clear that the progress of syphilis clears the way for inventive genius. In MAUPASSANT (*Collins*. 12*s*. 6*d*.) Francis Steegmuller puts his subject through the psychological hoops so that his mother, like Hamlet's, becomes too, too significant. Guy de Maupassant as the incomparable writer of short stories deserves even more attention than the author gives him; Guy de Maupassant traced to his private muddy depths with this particular Virgil for a guide is a bore. The hard research that has gone to the making of the book is palpable, which makes the disappointment with the result all the more crushing.

Two celebrations

It is pleasant to think of other born story-tellers, Israel Zangwill, S. L. Bensusan, George Eliot—and Winston Churchill—whose names figure in the pages of THE JEWISH CHRONICLE 1841-1941 (*Jewish Chronicle Ltd.* 15*s*.). Wartime prevented due celebration of the paper's centenary and this volume now handsomely repairs the omission. British Jewry has cause for pride in a newspaper that has been published weekly since 1847 and which from 1935 has been the world's oldest Jewish periodical. Some of the many illustrations will give an idea of the struggles through which Jewry has had to pass. There is the notice about "commemorating in some permanent manner the admission of Jews to Parliament" dated 1858, and there is the Nazi order of 1933 forbidding the paper in Germany. Everyone, of whatever faith, who is lured by the smell of printers' ink will enjoy this history of journalistic enterprise and success.

Similarly, there is no need to be a Roman Catholic making the pilgrimage in Holy Year to enjoy THE VATICAN by Ann Carnahan with photographs by David Seymour (*Odhams Press*. 12*s*.6*d*.). This is a picture book of treasures in what the author describes as "the miniature city-state that would fit an 18-hole golf course." It is also about Swiss guards, papal gendarmes and chamberlains, the Holy Father as he appears in audiences, the radio station, the telephone system, the newspaper, and the Pope's private world. Details of his diet will be appreciated by his adherents presumably; although, it must be admitted, this reader's attention last year was distracted, as so often happens in historic moments, from the wonders of a Vatican gallery to the papal hens—as egg-providers suddenly significant—which could be seen from a sunny window, pecking in his garden. Three of the five Vatican libraries are completely bare of books, says the author, and this recalls the disappointment of a literary-minded tourist when told that books and manuscripts are behind the locked doors of seemingly endless painted cabinets. There is a proneness perhaps to point out gilded gifts to popes and to leave to chance your discovery of Henry VIII's letters. But this is churlish to guides whose erudition, reverence and sense of the dramatic are generously at hand as Raphael and Michelangelo, the Greek marbles, Gobelin tapestries, Etruscan and Egyptian museums, and "The Last Judgment" and the Sistine Chapel, open to the incredulous view.

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Pure water supplies tend to be taken for granted, yet their provision is an outstanding achievement and one of the greatest contributions of the chemical industry towards the maintenance of public health.